1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China AF16

Annex "A," Subparagraph 1a',
Sociological Background

GEOGRAPHICAL SETTING

131 The Southwest China Region, comprising the provinces of Szechwan, Yunnan, and Kweichow, is adjacent to Chinghai, Kansu, and Shensi provinces in the north across the Tanglha, Min, and Tapa mountain ranges. In the east it shares a boundary with Hupeh, Hunan, and Kwangsi provinces. The western limit of this region is an arbitrary line drawn vertically across the Tibetan massif to separate this region from Tibet.[1] This region defines China's southern frontier bordering upon Indochina and Burma. It lies between 21° and 34° North latitude, and 97° and 110° East longitude, covering an area of 1,146,345 square kilometers (442,600 sq. mi.) in which lives a population of 98,195,110, or about 16.9 per cent of China's total population.

I. TOPOGRAPHY

133 ### A. Mountains and Rivers

The elevation of the Southwest Region is quite high in the northwest, somewhat lower in

1. *Hsin-hua Yüeh-pao [New China Monthly]*, April 1955, pp. 15-16. For details of political subdivisions, see chapter on Structure of Government.

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PART I

INTRODUCTION

The Province of Yün-nan

Yün-nan 雲南 (South of the clouds) is the second largest province of China, and is situated in the extreme south-west of that vast country. Its area is approximately 146,700 square miles, and in 1933 it had a population of 11,795,486, or about 80.4 persons to the square mile. Of this population 6,095,549 were male, and 5,699,937 were female, and 88.88 per cent of the entire population was illiterate.

In the north it borders on Ssu-ch'uan 四川 and Hsi-k'ang 西康, in the west on Hsi-tsang 西藏 (Tibet) and Mien-tien 緬甸 (Burma). In the south it adjoins the south-eastern Shan States of Burma and also Indo-China, while in the east it borders on the Chinese provinces of Kuei-chou 貴州 and Kuang-hsi 廣西.

Yün-nan is a high table-land, intersected by some of the largest rivers of Asia, such as the Yangtze, Mekong, and Salween, and by the eastern branch of the Irrawadi (the Ch'iu Chiang 球江 of the Chinese) in the extreme west. These rivers flow parallel to each other for a considerable distance in terrific gorges. The intervening mountain ranges, which in the extreme north-west reach heights of 22,000 feet, are crowned by eternal snow. Of these the Mekong-Salween divide forms, in part, the Tibet – Yün-nan border. The altitude increases in the north-west, and we find towns at 11,500 feet elevation.

In the south, the province is partly covered with tropical jungle where tigers roam and malaria is prevalent, and where the Tai or Shan hold undisputed sway, as no Yünnanese will live below an altitude of 4,000 feet. Here the water-buffalo is at home, and rice is the main crop.

In the north the yak grazes on the high alpine meadows, and barley is grown at 12,000 feet. The yak furnishes the inhabitants with meat, milk, butter and cheese; its dung (argols) is used as fuel and its hair for the weaving of cloth for tents; it also serves as a transport animal. Here barley takes the place of rice and is the staple food of the Tibetans.

The capital of the province is Yün-nan fu, situated at an altitude of 6,400 feet, on a large plain surrounded by mountains. Near it is the famous lake known as Tien Ch'ih 滇池 or K'un-yang 昆陽. To-day Yün-nan fu is called K'un-ming 昆明, which, during the reign of Han Wu Ti, was the land of I-chou Chün 益州郡. While the name K'un-ming is an ancient one it seems not to have been applied to the land which bears that name to-day prior to the Yüan (Mongol) dynasty. The *K'un-ming hsien chih* speaks of three K'un-mings. In the oldest geographical record of Yün-nan we read, however, that the name K'un-ming had first been given to the lake at Yün-nan fu by General Chuang Ch'iao of the State of Ch'u in about 280 B.C. (*see* Note 3, page 6).

As this is not a history and geography of the whole of Yün-nan, but only of a specified area in its north-west, namely the region now occupied by the Mo-so

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tribe, who call themselves Na-khi, the province is not described at length. To do so it would be necessary to publish, instead of two volumes, at least ten, when one considers that the present *Yün-nan T'ung-chih* (Topography of Yün-nan) as published by the Yün-nan provincial authorities, consists of 220 *pen* 本 (books).

The area dealt with in this work does not lie strictly within the confines of Yün-nan, but extends to beyond its borders. It roughly comprises the land between East Longitude 98° and 103° and North Latitude 26° and 30°. This territory was never exclusively inhabited by the Mo-so or Na-khi tribe, nor was it ever a political unit under the rule of a Na-khi King or chief. To-day the area is partly in Tibet and Hsi-k'ang and partly in Yün-nan and Ssu-ch'uan, the greater part, however, being in the province of Yün-nan. It is represented in this work by four maps: Map no. 1, called Te-ch'in or A-tun-tzu; no. 2, Wei-hsi; no. 3, Li-chiang and no. 4, Yen-yüan.[1]

In the area covered by map no. 1, the Na-khi live in scattered villages alternating with Tibetan ones, with certain sections (on the west) occupied by other tribes, as the Lu-tzu or Nu-tzu, the Trun or Ch'iu-tzu, and Li-su on the south. The area represented by maps 2 and 3, is almost exclusively inhabited by Mo-so or Na-khi, save for a sprinkling of other tribes, such as the Miao, Chung-chia, Min-chia and Lo-lo or No-su, with Tibetans and Hsi-fan to the north. These tribes are more or less recent immigrants as are the Chinese. Map 4, comprises an area inhabited mainly by ancient Mo-so who may or may not be identical with the Na-khi of Li-chiang. Scattered among them live also Hsi-fan, Chinese, Tai or Shan as well as Lo-lo and a few Li-su. Chinese are everywhere in the minority.

Various hypotheses have been put forward as to the origin of the Na-khi. Suffice it to say that they are immigrants, descendants of the Ch'iang of north-eastern Tibet, and many references substantiating this statement will be found throughout the book. Whether the Mo-so are identical with the Na-khi will ever remain a moot question. That the P'u were the original inhabitants of the present home of the Mo-so or Na-khi we learn from Chinese History. The Mo-so, first mentioned in the Annals of the T'ang dynasty, were probably less numerous and disputed the land with the P'u. Then came the descendants of the Yüeh-hsi Ch'iang who with the Mo-so dispersed the P'u and settled in their land. The name Na-khi occurs nowhere in Chinese literature and as I suggested elsewhere, was probably given the Ch'iang by the Mo-so on account of their darker complexion. The name Na-khi (*na-* = black, *khi* = man) became the designation for the tribe of the territory formerly occupied by the P'u; whether the Mo-so absorbed the Ch'iang or the Ch'iang the Mo-so remains a disputed question. The name Mo-so is of Chinese origin and is disliked by the Na-khi, it is looked upon as derogatory. I hope to be able to throw more light on this question in a future work on the religion and religious literature of the Na-khi.

In order gradually to introduce the reader or investigator to the history and geography of the former Na-khi Kingdom, it was deemed wise to give a description of the route from K'un-ming to Li-chiang 麗江, the ancient capital

1 [see end map 1, cat 116 ;-- Analyst]

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PART III

THE GEOGRAPHY OF LI-CHIANG

CHAPTER I

THE BOUNDARIES AND SUB-DISTRICTS OF LI-CHIANG

101 *The ancient boundaries.* — According to the *Tien-hsi*, ch. 1, fols. 25b–26a (of 1808), Li-chiang is north-west of the capital of Yün-nan (PLATE 50). In the east it borders on the district of Yung-pei (the present Yung-sheng), a distance of 400 li; in the west, on the territory of the Nu-i 怒夷 (Lu-tzu), a tribe inhabiting the valley of the Salween or Nu Chiang 怒江 (瀾江), a distance of 670 li; south, to the border of Ta-li fu and Lang-k'ung hsien 浪穹縣, 240 li; north, to Chung-tien, a distance of 45 li; south-west to Yün-lung 雲龍, 619 li; north-west to Wei-hsi 維西, 450 li.

● [131] From Li-chiang to the capital of Yün-nan is a distance of 1,240 li. The width of the Li-chiang district from east to west is 670 li, and from south to north 310 li.

According to the *Li-chiang fu chih lüeh*, ch. 上, fol. 8a, the ancient boundaries of the Li-chiang district were as follows: "In the east it bordered on the territory of Yung-pei fu, a distance of 130 li; in the west on the land of the Nu-i, a distance of 640 li; in the south on the prefecture of Ho-ch'ing (fu), 45 li distant; in the north on the district of Chung-tien, 55 li distant. In the south-east also, on Ho-ch'ing fu, but 135 li distant; south west on the prefecture of Ta-li (fu) and Yün-lung chou, a distance of 630 li; north-east on the territory of Yung-ning, governed by Yung-pei, a distance of 450 li; in the north-west on Wei-hsi, governed by Ho-ch'ing, a distance of 457 li. The width of the Li-chiang district from east to west was 770 li, and its length from south to north 100 li."

This was the extent of the Li-chiang territory in the eighth year of Ch'ien-lung (1743). The present extent of the district is considerably less. In the east the Yangtze is the border to the iron chain-bridge at Ching-li 井里 [1] (Dsi-li in Na-khi). The present border extends south to Ch'i-ho 七河, south-west to Chiu-ho 九河, west and north-west again to the Yangtze and including Lu-tien 魯甸; north to Ch'iao-t'ou 橋頭, and north-east to Shang (Upper) Feng-k'o 上排叮, on the Yangtze, which forms here the border between Li-chiang and Yung-ning.

361 *The ancient city of Li-chiang.* — "In ancient days, Li-chiang was known as the native prefectural city and possessed no wall.

"In the first year of Yung-cheng (1723) a tamped earth wall was erected at the request of the Yün-nan viceroy. The foundation was constructed of rock and the top was covered with tiles. It was four li in circumference, ten Chinese feet high, and had four gates with gate-towers. A small west gate was also built. In the 16th year of Ch'ien-lung (1751) there was an earthquake which

[1] Also written Tzu-li 梓里.

[p.171] [p.170 is blank]

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ing of *ngu*[2] is to carry, as a load on the back, and *bă* would refer to business, thus *ngu-bă* would mean to carry a load to be sold, as on the Li-chiang market (PLATE 51), and this seems to be the better explanation of the two.

The actual Yi-gv, however, the name which is applied to-day to Li-chiang, is a very small village situated in a little valley back of the larger village called Gyi-wùa, the Chinese Ch'ing-ch'i-ts'un 清溪村. Here water-springs issue over quite an area and these flow south, but not through the town of Li-chiang. These springs are called in Na-khi, Ssi or Ssă-mi gyi (Pomegranate water). The spring which issues at the foot of the eastern slopes of the Hsiang Shan 象山 (Elephant Mountain), and which forms the pond in the temple grounds of the Lung-wang Miao 龍王廟, is called Ngu-lu gyi by the Na-khi.

It is possible that the very first Na-khi settlement in this region was where the tiny hamlet of Yi-gv is now situated, for the Na-khi are also called Yi-gv khi (People of Yi-gv). The name Yi-gv was probably only later applied to their capital, the Chinese Li-chiang. The name Li-shui 麗水 (Beautiful waters) was first given to the district during the T'ang dynasty when it had been conquered by the Meng shih 蒙氏 (Meng family) in 794. Li Shui was also the name of the Yangtze, which further bore the name of Shen Ch'uan 神川. The name of Li-chiang does not appear until the Mongol dynasty in 1271. This name has been retained to the present day for the district, as well as for the town. The Li-chiang district numbers 28,375 families or a total of 132,582 inhabitants. Of these 68,216 are male and 64,366 female, and, according to the census of 1931, of the total population only 5,340 men and 170 women were literate.

The town is situated in latitude 27° 10′, according to Major Davies; in latitude 26° 52′, and longitude 100° 27′, according to Playfair. The Army Map Service *Gazetteer of Chinese Place Names based on V. K. Ting Atlas* gives longitude 100° 15′, latitude 26° 51′. Its altitude is 8,200 feet. It is situated at the foot, that is, at the southernmost point, of the long limestone range of Hsiang Shan. The range extends north and divides the Li-chiang plain in half, the western part extending towards Nga-ba, an ancient lake bottom from which it is separated by a spur called Dza-dza mbu.

THE COMMUNES OF LI-CHIANG

Pai-sha li. — The villages situated on the western part of the plain belong to Pai-sha li, that is, south of and including the village to the west, Hsi-wen-ts'un 西文村, and Tung-wen-ts'un 東文村 on the east. They are called in Na-khi, Mbe-man nyi-mă-gv and Mbe-man nyi-mă-t'u respectively. Pai-sha, the Na-khi Boa-shi, is the largest village of Pai-sha li.[3] (PLATE 52.)

Shu-ho li. — The villages south of Pai-sha li, as far as the road which leads over Huang Shan 黃山 (Yellow Mountain) — the Gkaw-gku of the Na-khi — belong to Shu-ho li 東河里, of which Shu-ho, the Shwua-wùa of the Na-khi, is the largest village. The lamasery of P'u-chi Ssu 普濟寺 belongs to this li;

[2] When the word is used by itself, it is read *gu*, but in conjunction with other words in a sentence, or in a name as here, Ngu-bă, it is pronounced *ngu* instead of *gu*.

[3] Since this was written the Communes are called Hsiang 鄉.

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CHAPTER V

The Li-chiang Territory within the Yangtze Loop

The Yangtze River after cutting its way through the snow range in a north-eastern direction turns northwards at Ta-ku headed off by the limestone range of Dzu-ku nv-lv which merges into La-pao Shan. Hua-ti-yi nv-lv is an extension of the range and is the highest part of the backbone in the north. At Shang Feng-k'o the river turns due south. Deep and long gorges extend east into the Yangtze as the central mountain mass is closer to the western bend of the loop than the eastern.

The territory north of Li-chiang in the Yangtze loop is quite narrow in comparison to the great triangle which the river encloses. The southern and eastern part of the triangle is inhabited by Na-khi, but the northern part is exclusively occupied by Tibetans. Both banks of the river to the west of the triangle up to Ch'i-tsung are however peopled by Na-khi.

The Li-chiang snow range occupies the western and central part of the loop; it is here pierced by the Yangtze which bulges considerably into the land and is then forced north by the range mentioned previously.

The land within the loop from Li-chiang to Shang Feng-k'o is six stages long and exceedingly mountainous. With the exception of the Li-chiang plain which extends to the foot of the snow range, there is no level land within the loop, save scattered alpine meadows, the longest of which is Nga-ba. As one travels over the high mountains, mostly densely forested, one gains occasional glimpses of the Yangtze on both sides, especially in the northern part of the loop on the road to Shang Feng-k'o 上俸叮 (Upper Feng-k'o). On the trail to Feng-k'o 俸叮, however, one is forced to travel for about half a day along the barren, rocky slopes of the eastern part of the loop. Coming from Shang Feng-k'o, at the apex of the loop, the trail leads over the central mountain mass, leaving the Yangtze on both sides, without entering either valley.

It is possible to reach Ta-ku 打鼓 from the central mountain spurs within the loop, by a narrow trail from two different places, one being Mba-yi-wûa (Place where there is sugar) called Ming-yin-wu 鳴音吾 in Chinese, and the other T'o-k'ŏ-ahĕr, called in Chinese Ch'ang-sung-p'ing 長松坪 (Long pine flat). The trail is negotiable to pedestrians only.

The only large settlements within this territory and north of the Li-chiang plain are at La-bpu (Chinese, La-pao 鯉寶), Fu-k'o (Chinese, Feng-k'o), and Nda-gv (Chinese, Ta-ku). The remaining villages are scattered and consist of a few families only.

1. From Hei-shui to La-pao Li

We have followed the main trail from Nga-ba as far as Gyi-nà mbu-gkv, where a small path leads to the heights of Gyi-nà nv-lv, and shall continue north from the bluff overlooking the Hei-shui.

Leaving the pine forest behind, the trail descends from Gyi-nà mbu-gkv into

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prostrate others still erect, tragic witnesses of the once magnificent forest, covering now waste land. Here, at an elevation of 10,700 feet, parrots (*Psittacula Derbiana*) fly in flocks from grove to grove, chattering noisily.

We descend through pine forest to a small meadow, and emerge at the foot of a huge, vertical limestone cliff into a circular basin, in which are several hamlets collectively called T'o-k'ö-shĕr, or Ch'ang-sung-p'ing 長松坪 in Chinese (H-M., Tsasopie).[2] North of the last hamlet, situated on a spur, is a small hill with tall pine trees, whence the place takes its name: The flat of the long pine. On the top of the hill is a lovely spring and an excellent camping place. The district is known as La-bpu (La-pao li in Chinese), and comprises not only the small villages of T'o-k'ö-shĕr, on the spur but also the many villages in the deep valley which here extends east into the Yangtze, and those on the western bank of the Yangtze proper.

2. THE DISTRICT OF LA-PAO OR LA-BPU

The district of La-pao (La-bpu), the ancient Pao-shan chou 寶山州, is 245 li north of Li-chiang, and 170 li south-west of Yung-ning. During the Han dynasty (206 B.C.–A.D. 24) it belonged to I chou[3] and was the land of the district (hsien) of Hsieh-lung 邪龍. During the Later Han dynasty (25–220) it belonged to Yung-ch'ang Chün 永昌郡. In the T'ang dynasty (618–906) it was conquered by the Mo-so-man. In the beginning of the Mongol dynasty (1253) they submitted and their villages (those belonging to Pao-shan chou) were called Ch'a-han hu-!u-han 察罕忽魯罕. In the 14th year of Chih-yüan 至元 (1277) there the magistracy of Pao-shan hsien was created. In the 16th year (1279) it was raised to a chou belonging to the circuit of Li-chiang. No changes were made during the Ming dynasty (1368–1643). A native magistrate (T'u chih-chou 土知州), by name Lo 羅, governed its six li (Communes).

Excerpts from the Tu-shih Fang-yü chi-yao (ch. 117, fol. 20a)

[The brief statement in this work regarding Pao-shan chou makes gross error, when it states that it is east of Li-chiang; this is, of course, wrong, for 245 li east would be in Yung-sheng (Yung-pei), east of the Yangtze. The name Pao-shan chou still occurs on the Li-chiang district map and is to the north of 'A-k'o (Chinese, Ngai-k'o 崖喀) on the west bank of the Yangtze. It further says that it is 130 li south to Ho-ch'ing fu 鶴慶府. This is also incorrect, for Ho-ch'ing is 80 li south of Li-chiang and the latter place is 245 li south of Pao-shan chou.]

The region which comprises the present-day La-bpu and known during the reign of Chih-yüan (Kublai Khan) (1279) as Pao-shan chou, was captured by force by seven brothers who belonged to the Mo-so tribe. This happened during the T'ang dynasty. At that time La-bpu consisted of seven stockaded villages of which the largest one was called Ta-kuei 大貴 [the Li-chiang records

[2] Another example of the Na-khi mispronunciation of Chinese words ending in a consonant. Tsa-so-pie = Ch'ang-sung-p'ing.

[3] The Han dynasty I chou comprised parts of Yün-nan and Ssu-ch'uan.

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CHAPTER VI

CHUNG-TIEN 中甸

634 The district of Chung-tien, situated north of the Yangtze loop, forms an inverted pyramid, the apex being its southernmost point, the broad base of the pyramid adjoining the new province of Hsi-k'ang the former Ch'uan-pien 川邊, or frontier of Ssu-ch'uan, commonly known as the Tibetan Marches. Chung-tien is called Ndzu-dü in Na-khi, and in Tibetan rGyal-thang.

Only the southern half of the region is inhabited by Na-khi, as the district of Bbĕr-ddĕr, which adjoins the Yangtze on the east and the mountain range of A-nà Ngyu (A-nà-ngv, An-nan-ku 安南古, also known as Pei-ti Shan 北地山) to the north; beyond are Tibetans only.

The district of Chung-tien is divided diagonally from north-west to south-east by a stream known to the Chinese as the Chung-chiang Ho 中江河. They call the upper part the Shih-to-kang Ho 碩多岡河, while the Na-khi call the entire stream the Yü-ndo gyi. It is however better known as the Chung-tien Ho 中甸河. It debouches into the Yangtze above the 'A-ts'aṇ-gko gorge. Its source is to the north of Pei-ti Shan (A-nà Ngyu). The lake of Chung-tien is called Ts'ao Hai 草海 by the Chinese and Nda-bpa K̡hü in Na-khi; the Tibetans call it Na-pa Tsho.

361 The seat of the magistracy is Chung-tien, whence the district derives its name. Chung-tien is situated at an elevation of 11,500 feet on a large grassy plain too cold to grow anything but wheat, and is inhabited by about 200 families, mostly a mixture of Chinese, Mo-so and Tibetan. Its geographic position according to Major Davies is latitude 27° 50′ and longitude 99° 45′. To the north of Chung-tien dwell the notorious robber tribe, the Tong-wa (sTong-wa), the Chinese Tung-wang 氓匪.

634 173 The *Hsü Yün-nan T'ung-chih-kao*, Vol. 12, ch. 9, fols. 11b and 12a, states that during the Han dynasty Chung-tien was in the hsien of Sui-chiu 遂久, subject to Yüeh-sui Chün 越巂郡. Sui-chiu was west of Yung-ning, and is the present Chung-tien. Under the Shu Han (221–264) it belonged to Yün-nan Chün 雲南郡. In the Sui dynasty (590–617) it was the Mi chou 彌州, controlled by the Tu-tu fu 都督府 (Yamen of the military governor) of Jung chou 戎州 (this is the present-day I-pin 宜賓 (Hsü chou 敘州) of Ssu-ch'uan). In the T'ang (618–906) it was also known as Mi chou. Under the Mongols (1280–1367) it belonged to the circuit of Li-chiang. In the Ming dynasty (1368–1643) it was in the prefecture of Li-chiang. In the Ch'ing it remained unaltered. Wu San-kuei 吳三桂 rebelled and gave the land of Chung-tien to the Dalai Lama of Lha-sa.[1] In the fifth year of Yung-cheng (1727) it came under the control of Ho-ch'ing. A Chou-p'an 州判 (District judge) from the chou of Chien-ch'uan (a magistracy between Ta-li and Li-chiang) resided there. In the 21st year of Ch'ien-lung (1756) a change was

[1] According to the Mu Chronicle this was in the year 1668, during the rule of Mu Yi (1608–1692), chief of Li-chiang.

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ch'uan, who had been settled there for more than 60 years. They, like the Mo-so who dwell in this gorge, do not live, as he says, in "caves à demi enfoncées dans le sol," but in houses built of stone. His map on plate 6 gives the trail as below the villages, while actually it passes above them and not along the river but at times 4,000 feet above it. The great Ta-shen-kou gorge, which the trail ascends and its eastern wall which it climbs in many zigzags, is not marked. According to him the trail leads only a short distance above the river. This is an impossibility. No one could walk along the Hu-t'iao-chiang or cross the Ta-shen-kou gorge without ascending it.

From Ta-ku, as well as from across the river, one can look up the tremendous gorge, and from the village of No-yü near the entrance one can look down it and obtain an idea of its grandeur, though not to the extent as if one actually travels through it. The quickest way to reach Bbĕr-ddĕr is by crossing the Yangtze at Ta-ku. Bacot gives us pictures of the inflated goatskin rafts by which he crossed, but not a single picture of the great gorge itself or of the renowned Hu-t'iao-chiang, nor of the villages in the gorge, as previously remarked.

As the northern part of the Chung-tien district is inhabited mainly by Tibetans no detailed description is here given, but the southern territory inhabited purely by Na-khi is dealt with in the following pages.

1. THE NA-KHI DISTRICTS OF HA-BA AND BBĔR-DDĔR (THE CHINESE HA-PA 哈巴 AND PEI-TI 北地)

The districts of Ha-ba and Bbĕr-ddĕr are situated in the south-eastern part of the Chung-tien triangle and rest on the Yangtze loop in the east; on the Ha-ba ndshĕr nv-lv peak of the Yü-lung Shan in the south; the Ta-ra mountain in the west and Pei-ti Shan (A-nä Ngyu Range) to the north. The massive limestone range of Gkü-dü also lies within the triangle.

The most primitive type of Na-khi, undisturbed since they first settled many centuries ago, dwell in this region. Here they follow their old religious customs, which is a mixture of Shamanism and the pre-Buddhistic Bön religion of Tibet. There are neither lamas nor lama temples as in the Li-chiang district, nor are there any Chinese temples, for no Chinese live here.

An interesting feature is the total absence of graves in Bbĕr-ddĕr, for here the Na-khi still follow their ancient custom of cremating their dead. They take no medicines of any kind, but rely solely on their sorcerers to exorcize the demons of disease. They also practise in all its purity the ancient ceremony of *Muaṇ-bpö* (Propitiation of Heaven). The district contains one of the finest *muaṇ-bpö d'a*, or sites for the *Muaṇ-bpö* ceremony, situated in a beautiful grove of old oaks.

Their territory is most difficult of access and this has kept them isolated and unspoiled. They have not come in contact with the Chinese, but, unfortunately, they are exposed in the north to Tibetan bandit invasion, and several times their villages have been reduced to ashes and their cattle driven off. Being unarmed, they themselves fled into the hills to save their lives.

They are under the Chinese magistrate of Chung-tien, a town in a purely Tibetan district, but that official, when there happens to be one, usually flies

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north. Were it not for the absence of water, a more beautiful camping spot would be difficult to find.

To the east of the Ha-ba snow range, the northern limit of Jade dragon Mountain, is a beautiful, gravelly plain called Sho-ko dü, with dense pine forest extending to the foot of the range. Our trail leads across the plain to where it is flanked by a broad spur or hill-side 900 feet high. This spur closes the entire plain to the north, and resembles a huge lava flow of enormous thickness, but is, of course, composed of limestone like the rest of that region. The track ascends the spur more or less gradually through wonderful forest of *Pinus yünnanensis* to the summit, which is at 9,900 feet elevation (PLATE 130).

From the top of this spur we look down into a peculiar bowl-shaped depression hemmed in on the west by the Ha-ba snow peaks, in the north by a high spur, and in the east by another spur, but with an outlet, thus forming really a valley which leads out to the Yangtze. In this bowl-like depression is situated the scattered hamlet of 30 families called Ha-ba. We descend over the spur, which on its northern slope is mainly forested with the Yün-nan white pine (*Pinus Armandi*), while the yellow pine (*Pinus yünnanensis*) covers the southern and drier slopes. The former pine is more moisture-loving and thus chooses the northern slopes where the snow does not melt so quickly. Here on this spur there are also several springs and small ponds. *Tsuga* (hemlock trees) occur in the ravines.

The trail leads down to a meadow crossed by a crystal-clear stream, and makes a sharp turn straight to the foot-hills of the Ha-ba Snow peak (PLATE 131). Here in a marvellous grove of hemlock trees (*Tsuga yünnanensis*) and tall white pines, a spring gushes forth from under the huge limestone boulders of which the foot-hills are composed. To the Na-khi of Ha-ba this is a place sacred to the Llü-mun (Serpent spirits), whom they propitiate. They hold here an annual fair on the 8th day of the second moon, when crowds come to worship, and when their sorcerers perform the *Ssu-gv* ceremony, that is, the propitiation of the serpent spirits and the Garuḍa, whom they call Dtu-p'êr Khyu-t'khyu.

5. FROM HA-BA TO BBÊR-DDÊR

[131] *The Bbêr-ddêr territory.* — Bbêr-ddêr, is purely Na-khi and the people still live in their primitive state uncontaminated by Chinese manners and customs. This is due to the almost inaccessible location of their territory protected in the east by the Yangtze in its deep gorges, and in the west by snow peaks and ranges, the passes of which are closed for several months in the year. It is a world of its own.

Bbêr-ddêr is a large, sloping, triangular basin, bordered in the west by the Ta-ra mountains, which are a continuation of the Ha-ba ndshêr nv-lv Range extending north to south. The pass Hsüeh-men-k'an 雪門坎 is its western outlet. In the north it is bounded by the mountains of A-nä-ngv[1] (H-M.,

[1] A-nä Ngyu also A-nä-ngv after a Na-khi village by that name, in Chinese An-nan-ku (Mountain of the village of An-nan-ku-ch'ang 安南谷場), is 100 li south-east of Chung-tien and is also called Pei-ti Shan. In the winter and spring the mountain is covered with snow. Sixty li south of it is a *ling-ch'uan* ("mysterious spring"). This refers to the carbonate of lime spring at Bbêr-ddêr or Pei-ti. In the south A-nä-ngv adjoins the Ha-ba ndshêr nv-lv

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101 Salween into Tsha-rong in south-east Tibet, where the village of Sang-tha (Sung-ta 松打 in Chinese), is still inhabited by Nu-tzu.

*133 The territory in its inhabitable portion, lies in the valleys of the Mekong, Yangtze, Yung-ch'un Ho and the smaller tributaries of the Yangtze and the Mekong. The remainder is composed of the many mountain ranges separating these valleys; they reach their greatest height, 21,000–22,000 feet, to the west of the Mekong, where they form the Yün-nan — Tibet border. As we go northward the altitude increases, from Shih-ku on the Yangtze, at 6,200 feet, to Te-ch'in (A-tun-tzu) at 11,500 feet, one of the highest inhabited places in the north of Yün-nan. We have here a rise of 5,300 feet in a distance of 1,100 li (330 miles), 17 stages from Shih-ku.

132 The high mountain ranges which separate the Salween, Mekong and Yangtze
*133 — to mention the three longest rivers only — all reach their greatest height at about the same latitude (28° 20′); they act as rain screens, collecting the monsoon clouds which sweep across from the Assam plateau and assure a plentiful rainfall. To the north of the mighty snow peaks the land is parched and arid, a rocky waste. A rope could be stretched between the rain belt and the arid zone, so close do they adjoin each other. Looking south from above Yang-tsa 羊咱 the Mekong valley is filled with clouds, mist and rain, while a turquoise-blue sky extends from horizon to horizon in the north. South of Yang-tsa are vast forests, carpeted with moss, north a parched, rocky wilderness. The heaviest rainfall, as well as the first snow, is caught by the Salween-Irrawadi divide (Nam-ch'iu or Ch'iu Chiang 洋江 watershed). Next comes the Mekong-Salween divide, called the Kha-wa-kar-po Range (Chinese, Ssu-mang Ta-hsüeh-shan 四绛大雪山), 21,000–22,000 feet in height and distant only 36 li from the Salween as the crow flies. While both these ranges and their passes are covered with snow by October, the Mekong-Yangtze divide, which reaches its highest point in Pai-mang Shan, about 20,000 feet in height, is still free of snow in December, and several species of Gentians enjoy a glorious sunshine and blue sky. Thus do the western ranges gather all the moisture.

The three mighty rivers, which all have their sources on the high plateau of Tibet, flow parallel in deep trenches from north to south, hemmed in by huge snow ranges. It is only 50 miles from the Yangtze to the Salween as the crow flies, but undertake the journey and it will occupy a fortnight. Their valleys vary greatly in depth, the deepest part of the Mekong valley at the latitude of A-tun-tzu being 10,000–12,000 feet. With the exception of the Salween, the climate of this region is healthy, although malaria is common in the rain-belt of the Mekong.

● 131 To reach this region is an arduous undertaking, for it is about the most isolated in Asia. Sinkiang is certainly farther away, yet motor cars and aeroplanes bring it close to civilization. But here perhaps never will the sound of a motor horn be heard, for to construct a road over such mountains and deep gorges is a prohibitive undertaking. And planes? Let it be said that there is not even level space enough to pitch a tent, much less accommodate an aeroplane.

Thus it will remain one of the last regions to be brought close to civilization. Its scenery is unsurpassed and awaits the lover of nature, but he must pay the price.

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3. THE DISTRICT BOUNDARIES

To the east of the city of Wei-hsi the territory[1] adjoins Li-chiang, a distance of 70 li; the great Li-ti-p'ing Range connects the two territories. In the south it adjoins the T'o-chih ta-ch'iao 拖枝大橋 (T'o-chih is south-west of Lu-tien, and the Ta-ch'iao is a bridge over the Yung-ch'un Ho 永春河 on which T'o-chih the Na-khi T'o-dtü, [H-M., Todschü], is situated.[8] The Yung-ch'un Ho has its source on the northern slopes of the Han-sou Shan which belongs to Li-chiang. It is 25 li distant from Wei-hsi. In the west the territory adjoins I-wan-shui 一碗水 and Jih-teng-ts'un 日登村, which belong to Lan-p'ing [probably the Shih-teng 石登 of the Chinese Yün-nan military map]. In the north it adjoins the A-tun-tzu border at the village of Ta-shih-t'ou-ts'un 大石頭村, on the east bank of the Mekong, south of Tz'u-chung 茨中. North-north-east it adjoins Chung-tien and Te-jung 德榮[9] of the Hsiang-ch'eng 鄉城 in Ssu-ch'uan, as well as adjoining on Pa-an 巴安 and several hsien of Ssu-ch'uan. North-north-west it borders on Tz'u-k'ai 茨開, where there is a deputy magistrate. On the west it borders on the Ch'iu Chiang 球江 (珠江), the eastern branch of the Irrawadi of the Burma border. In the north it adjoins the Tibetan province of Ch'a-wa-lung 察瓦龍 (Tsha-wa-rong). Its width from east to west is 70 li and its length from south to north is 405 li.

These boundary notes have been taken from the *Wei-hsi Ti-li-chih* 維西地理誌 (Geographical records of Wei-hsi) which adds that the southern part of the district is the narrowest and that it was quite broad in the north.

The *Tien-hsi*, ch. 1, fol. 26b, states the distances as follows: 70 li east to the Li-chiang district border; 1,080 li west to Ch'a-wa-kang 擦瓦崗 in Tibet (this is in Tsha-wa-rong, south-eastern Tibet *see* page 198); south to the Li-chiang border, a distance of 25 li; north to the Chung-tien border, 310 li; south-east to the Li-chiang border, 70 li; south-west to the Li-chiang border, 70 li. North-east to the Chung-tien border, 320 li; north-west to the Chung-tien border, 720 li.

4. FROM CHÜ-TIEN TO WEI-HSI

South of Chü-tien the Yangtze receives a tributary called Hsin-i Ho 新移河, of which one source is on the south-eastern slopes of the Li-ti-p'ing, and not the La-pa Shan as the Yün-nan military map would make us believe. The stream is better known as the Chü-tien Ho[10]. A bridge of stone slabs

[8] North of T'o-chih, is the hamlet of A-dü which is all Na-khi, while T'o-chih is said to be Hsi-fan.

[9] Also written 得榮. It is in the realm of the Ba-thang T'u-ssu (Pa-t'ang) 巴塘土司 in Hsi-k'ang. The Hsiang-ch'eng country was also in the territory of the Ba-thang chief, but was made a magistracy called Ting-hsiang hsien 定鄉縣 in the 34th year of Kuang-hsü (1908), and the T'u-ssu (chief) was abolished. This does not mean, however, that the Chinese control the region. Rather, since the abolishing of the chieftainship (that is, the native hereditary governor) the Hsiang-ch'eng have become lawless and independent. The region is now in Hsi-k'ang and not Ssu-ch'uan.

[10] The Chü-tien Ho, according to the *Yün-nan T'ung-chih*, ch. 22, fol. 35, has its source in the Han-sou Shan, 400 li north-west of Li-chiang. All the Lu-tien waters join it and to-

1 [i.e. Wei-hsi District -- Analyst]

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CHAPTER IV

WESTERN AND NORTH-WESTERN YUNG-NING

1. AGRICULTURE, ACCESS AND INHABITANTS

Yung-ning 永寧

S ST 311 [161] ST [24] [312]

The most important part of Yung-ning from an agricultural standpoint, is of course its plain (PLATE 220), which to-day supports 300 families, although 1,000 families could subsist there if rice were cultivated, and all arable land were utilized. Only one half of the plain is now under cultivation, and rice is prohibited from being grown for political reasons. Maize, barley, buckwheat and round peas are the main crops. The plain has a plentiful water supply, as the Hli gyi or K'ai-chi Ho 開基河 [also called Lo-chi Ho 勒依河 pronounced Lɛ-chi Ho in Yung-ning] winds through it, receiving several affluents in its course over the plain. The latter is at an elevation of 9,500 feet, is perfectly flat, and extends east to the foot of Lion Mountain (Seng-ge ga-mu). In the remote past the Yung-ning plain was undoubtedly a lake, similar to the Lu-ku Lake, which lies 100 feet higher. The plain is surrounded by mountains with many valleys debouching into it: the only outlet is the valley which leads into the Ch'ien-so country in Ssu-ch'uan. The eastern and north-eastern end of the plain is still marshy.

The next place of importance is the long Tsui-yi valley called Wa-erh-lo 挖耳羅 in Chinese, which extends south of Wua-ha Shan, west into the Yangtze. This is a very fertile valley and rice is planted in the middle upper half; the lower part is a dry, arid canyon with steep walls; the head of the valley is wooded.

To the west of Yung-ning is another long valley called Luĕ-dzu law-k'aw, which also extends into the Yangtze, with another valley joining it called Hĕr-dü, the Har-lĕr-dü of the Na-khi. These valleys unite a short distance before debouching west into the Yangtze, south of San-chiang-k'ou 三江口. The remaining arable land is along the Yangtze, especially at Pu-chio 卜卦 or Law-k'a-khi-llü [also called P'u-dyü]; then along the Zho Chhu on the Hsi-k'ang border in the west of Yung-ning, and at Pa-erh-ch'iao 巴耳橋, south of Yung-ning; and finally the few fields along the shore of the Lu-ku Hu or Yung-ning Lake.

The rest of the country is exceedingly mountainous. The highest peaks are on Wua-ha Shan, which is the northern part of the Yao Shan to the east of Yung-ning. These reach 15,500 feet or more in height.

S ST 131

Access. — The main approaches to Yung-ning from the south are from Yung-pei, north via Lang-ch'ü chou, the present Ning-lang 寧蒗; then from Li-chiang via the Yangtze at either T'o-li-tsu or Chiang-wai 江外, up the Tsui-yi valley opposite Chiang-wai which is the shortest route. The northern route is via Feng-k'o 鳳河 or Shang-feng-k'o 上鳳河.

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Coming from the east the main approach is by either the Tso-so or Ch'ien-so T'u-ssu territory. From the north by way of Ki-bo Shan from Mu-li.

A trail leads also from the mouth of Luë-dzu valley on the Yangtze along the banks of the latter to Chung-tien, but the Zho Chhu or Shu-gyi (Wu-liang Ho) must first be crossed near its mouth.

Inhabitants. — The main inhabitants of Yung-ning are the Hli-khin tribe (PLATE 221), a branch of the Na-khi who speak a peculiar dialect only with difficulty understood by the Li-chiang Na-khi, who converse with them in Chinese. Genuine Li-chiang Na-khi have migrated to Yung-ning and one village, Boa-ts'o-gkv near the lamasery, is entirely inhabited by them. Lo-lo from Ssu-ch'uan have settled to the south of Yung-ning, and also lately on Mt. Yo-wa-bu to the south-west, where they have destroyed most of the forest. Chinese live in the upper and best part of Tsui-yi valley and in the rockier lower part Li-su have settled for many generations. There are undoubtedly some Hsi-fan, the original inhabitants of Mu-li, and also a floating population of Tibetans. The people of Yung-ning, that is the Hli-khin tribe, are now mainly adherents of the Yellow Lama Church (Gelug-ba sect), but their original Shamanistic religion still exists and is practised by the few remaining sorcerers, who are called Nda-pa (PLATE 222). Unlike the Na-khi Dto-mba or priests, they have no written language, and chant everything from memory.

Another sect called Ha-pa, which dates back to Padmasambhava, also practises its witchcraft in Yung-ning. The Ha-pa priests have their own literature, in manuscript form, several centuries old. They make blood sacrifices, mainly offering sheep at their ceremonies, and, similarly to the Dto-mba of the Na-khi, erect peculiar tower-like structures, some of which are called Nya-ta (PLATE 223), to avoid evil, etc. These priests whom the Yung-ning people call Ha-pa, are the genuine sorcerers of the Hsi-fan or Boa of Mu-li who call them Ts'a-mba.

On the banks of the Zho-Chhu dwells another branch of the Na-khi known as Zhĕr-khin.[1] They speak another dialect which is, however, more closely related to that of the Li-chiang Na-khi than to the Yung-ning Hli-khin. The Zhĕr-khin have a written language of their own, that is pictographs. It is similar to the Li-chiang Dto-mba script but is not understood by the latter; some of the symbols are different, and so is the dialect and pronunciation. The Yellow Lama sect and the Ha-pa sect employ the Tibetan script in their books. The ceremonies of the Nda-pa, the original Yung-ning religion, will be described in another volume dealing with the religion

[1] All Na-khi living on river banks in hot valleys, as in the Yangtze and Zho Chhu valleys, are called Zhĕr-khi or Zhĕr-khig by the Li-chiang Na-khi and Yung-ning Mo-so respectively. The word *zhĕr* means to be afraid, and refers to their being afraid to come from their hot valleys to the cold snowy uplands, inhabited by the mountain Na-khi. *Zhĕr-khig* is also an insulting term and any one who is stupid is called a "Zhĕr-so" — son or child of Zhĕr; the name Zhĕr-dü (Hot land) is given to the hot river valleys. *See:* J. F. Rock, the Zhĕr-khig tribe and their religious literature in *Monumenta Serica* Vol III, Fasc. 1, 1939; pp. 171–188.

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CHAPTER V

THE YUNG-NING PLAIN

The Yung-ning plain (Hli-dü, which the natives pronounce more like Hli-di and the Na-khi of Li-chiang call Lü-dü) comprises an area of about 100 square li and is the most important part of the entire Yung-ning territory. The Hli dji (waters of Hli) traverses it in great curves and in wintertime it is the home of many thousands of ducks, cranes and herons. The cranes come from the Koko Nor, where they breed, to winter in the south.[1] A better place for duck-shooting is difficult to imagine. Less than half of the plain is cultivated and the peasants are strictly prohibited by their chiefs from growing rice. If rice were grown the plain could support three times the population it supports to-day.

1. VILLAGES ROUND THE LAMASERY

The Yung-ning Lamasery is the most important establishment and is situated on the western end of the plain, 10 li from the foot of Lion Mountain (Senge-ge ga-mu). Several villages cluster around the lamasery, of which the most important one is Bua-ts'o-gkv, (Place where the Hsi-fan [Boa] danced), pronounced by the Yung-ning people Ba-tso-gu. It is mostly inhabited by Li-chiang Na-khi and is also called P'i-chiang-ts'un 皮匠村 (Tanners' village). It is a nondescript conglomeration of miserable houses, the street an impassable quagmire covered with green scum. No improvements are permitted by the rulers of Yung-ning for fear of attracting outside settlers. In the middle of the road are the steaming-vats where the people cure ox hides and deerskins. This village is immediately beyond the white Chhorten (nchhod-rten) (lama reliquary monument) and the little stone bridge. Here also Li-chiang Na-khi shoemakers ply their trade, making genuine Na-khi shoes, both of cow and Shan-lü 山驢 or serow hide, the latter a species of Capricornis.[2] They also make tall Tibetan boots, supply-

[1] Of the cranes which inhabit the Yung-ning plain and marshes the most common is *Grus nigricollis* (black-neck) the Gko of the Na-khi. This species breeds in the Koko Nor of north-east Tibet, and winters in Yün-nan. It was first described by the Russian traveller PRZEWALSKI from north-east Tibet, where I also collected it, and where its breeding-places were observed by me. Of the stork family, *Ciconia nigra* is often found in pairs in the flooded fields, while ducks such *Anas crecca*, *Anas platyrhyncha*, and *Anas nyroca* are found on the banks of the Hli dji as well as on the Yung-ning Lake. On the lake depart themselves the famous divers with lobate toes which the Na-khi call Dzu or Gol-dzu. Two species are found, *Podiceps nigricollis* with black necks, and the North China species *Poliocephalus rufocollis* [illegible], collected first in the province of Hu-nei. Other water-birds common in Yung-ning in the winter are *Mergus merganser orientalis* (the Nda-li-lä of the Na-khi), *Casarca ferruginea*, the sheldrake (called Mba-shi-mba-lua-me by the Na-khi), *Nyroca fuligula*, *Nyroca nyroca* and others.

[2] The species found on the Li-chiang snow range and north to Mu-li as on Mt. Ki-ho is *Capricornis sumatrensis milne-edwardsi* David. It is known to the Na-khi as Yü, in their books the female is called Yi-mä mbo-hä (Female serow with the blue mane).

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CHAPTER VI

YUNG-NING LAKE AND TSO-SO TERRITORY

1. LU-KU HU (YUNG-NING LAKE)

The Yung-ning Lake (called Lu-ku Hu 瀘沽湖 in Chinese and by the Li-chiang Na-khi La-t'a Ꞑhü) is known to the Yung-ning people as Lo-shu Khü.[1] This magnificent sheet of water is divided almost in half by a long peninsula, broad where it projects from the land and narrowing to a sharp point; this peninsula is called T'u-bbu and extends from north-east to south-west into the lake. The Yün-nan — Ssu-ch'uan border passes through the lake, cutting off the south-western point of the peninsula. A ravine extending down the western face of the wooded spur is the border. By far the larger part of this beautiful lake is in Yün-nan as are also three of the five islands scattered over it.[2] The smallest island is west of the Yün-nan border and is called Nyi-se. It is an oblong rock covered with scrub vegetation and only a short distance from the northern shore between the villages of Hli-ki and Law-zhĕr, the Chinese Lo-shui 瀘水 or Hsiao 小 (Small) Lo-shui.

Immediately beyond is the border of the Yung-ning — Mu-li — Tso-so territory. Here is a boundary stone, erected in the 17th year, second moon and 27th day of Chia-ch'ing of the Ch'ing dynasty (April 8th, 1812), which denotes the border between Mu-li and Yung-ning. On one side is inscribed the above date, and on the western face of the stone is inscribed 雲南永寧土司東北界至此 (Up to here is the Yün-nan Yung-ning T'u-ssu north-east border); on the eastern face is engraved 四川木裏土司西南界至此 (Up to here is the Ssu-ch'uan — Mu-li T'u-ssu south-west border).

Strange to say, the Mu-li King possesses a strip of land on the north shore of the lake, three li long; it consists of a spur and a bay, with a valley extending west-north-west, a continuation of the bay. The spur is bare, the soil red; it extends from a white limestone bluff on Lion mountain to the bank of the lake. In the lake, just beyond the little peninsula which forms the narrow bay belonging to Mu-li, is a triangular island called A-na-wa, once a part of the projecting spur which forms the bay. This island also belongs to the Mu-li lama King. The ridge is semicircular in outline and is part of a crater wall, the island of A-na-wa being a remnant of the other half of the crater.

Legendary origin. — At the foot of the ridge near the frontier is a huge limestone bluff called in Hli-khin Ꞑhü-pa-k'o (Hole whence the lake came forth). It is believed that here the lake has its source. A legend connected

[1] This may be in imitation of Lo-shui, two villages by that name situated near the lake shore. The two villages in question are called Law-zhĕr in Na-khi and Lū-khi.

[2] Part of the northern, and all of the western and southern shore of the lake is in Yung-ning, Yün-nan territory, while the eastern end and a short stretch of the northern shore, where it joins the eastern, is in Ssu-ch'uan. The peninsula of T'u-bbu, with the exception of the south-west end, is also in Ssu-ch'uan.

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also included Pei-shui 卑水, Hui-li 會理, Hui-wu 會無, Yao chou 姚州 and Ma-hu 馬湖. Yet our district [Yen-yüan] is said to have probably been the territory of Sui.

3. BOUNDARIES

"On the east Yen-yüan adjoins (or controls) the city of Yüeh-lu 月魯.[13]

"On the west it adjoins the stockaded village Ts'en-p'an 岑槃. On the south it adjoins the land of Mou-hsün 牟尋. From the northern frontier the traffic leads to the interior of Lung-tsan 弄贊.[14] Its territory is interlocked like the teeth of a dog, and the entrance is as strong as the tiger's mouth. Once it was lost to the Liao tribes, but afterwards it came again under the jurisdiction of Yün-nan.

"Yen-yüan hsien is situated 310 li south-west of Ning-yüan fu, the present Hsi-ch'ang 西昌. From the eastern to the western border is a distance of 530 li, and from the southern to the northern border 1,900 li. To the eastern border[15] 250 li distant it adjoins Peng-t'u-k'an 棚土坎 of the district of Hsi-ch'ang. 280 li west the border is in the center of the Lake Le-p'o 勒勃海[16] of the native fu-city of Yung-ning [this is the Yung-ning Lake or Lu-ku Hu] in Yün-nan.

"800 li to the south the border adjoins the territory of San-tui-tzu 三堆子 of the district of Hui-li chou and Ta-yao hsien 大姚縣 of Yün-nan. 1,100 li to the north it adjoins the territory of Ming-cheng-ssu 明正司[17] subject to a T'u-ssu and also the border of the Li-t'ang T'u-ssu. 260 li south-east it adjoins the border of the Military *So* (Sub-station) Te-ch'ang 德昌 in the district of Hsi-ch'ang. North-east 310 li to the border of Lu-ning ying 瀘寧營 (Military district of Lu-ning) of the district of Mien-ning 冕寧 and to Kao-yen-tzu 高巖子 of the district of Hsi-ch'ang. South-west 490 li to the border of Yung-pei of Yün-nan and the border of the Lang-ch'ü T'u-ssu.

[13] Yüeh-lu stands for Yüeh-lu-t'ieh-mu-erh, a Mongol general who tried to stop the advance of the Ming troops into the south-west; Ts'en-p'an was an aboriginal chief; Mou-hsün is I Mou-hsün, a Nan-chao King. These are all names of persons who in the early history of the country controlled the territory adjacent to Yen-yüan.

Lung-tsan, according to the *Hsi-tsang T'ung-lan* 西藏通覽, p. 32, is the Chinese name of the first historical king of Tibet, known as Srong-btsan sgam-po, transcribed in Chinese, Sung-ch'eng-k'an-po 松成坎波. Hence Tibet is here meant.

[14] This is reckoned from the city of Yen-yüan.

[15] This name for the Yung-ning Lake occurs only in the Yen-yüan Records. It is likely that Le-p'o or Lo-p'o has reference to the island of Hle-wu-be, situated at the end of the T'u-bbu peninsula which cuts the lake in half. Hle-wu-be is, however, in Yün-nan.

[16] There was a Ming-cheng Hsüan-wei ssu (Pacification commissioner of Ming-cheng) who resided at Ta-chien-lu and who controlled many districts, as Ho-hsi 河西, Yü-t'ung 魚通 and Ning-yüan. His title was Chün-min Hsüan-wei-shih-ssu 軍民宣慰使司 (Military and Civil Pacification Commissioner). His first ancestor assisted Chu-ko Liang when he attacked Meng Huo 孟獲 and thereby acquired merit, whereupon the above title was conferred on him. The Tibetan name of this principality is Cha-la written lChags-la ལྕགས་ལ; its ruler had the title of rgyal-po རྒྱལ་པོ or king. The King of Cha-la, the King of Mu-li and the Prince of Cho-ni 卓尼 in south-west Kan-su were the three most notable native rulers in West China. They used to repair every seven years to Peking to pay tribute to the Emperor.

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173 North-west 870 li to the borders of Chung-tien of Yün-nan and the border
131 of the T'u-ssu of Li-t'ang [the present-day Li-hua 理化].

"The distance from Yen-yüan hsien to the capital of the province of Ssu-ch'uan [Ch'eng-tu] is 1,540 li. To Peking it is a distance [over-land] of 7,250 li.

"The present frontiers of the Yen-yüan district partly exceed those of ancient times and partly do not include territory which formerly belonged to it.

The Han Records. — "On examining the records of the Han dynasty we find that the district of Ta-tso 大作[18] was situated between T'ai-teng 泰登 and Ting-tso. This is the land of the present Kua-pieh 瓜別 and Mu-li, crossed by the Jo Shui 若水 [the latter is the Ya-lung Chiang 雅龍江 which forms in part the border between Mu-li and Kua-pieh].

"The district of Sui-chiu 遂久縣 was changed and made subordinate to Yün-nan and must have been adjacent to the Yün-nan border; it was the region where the Sheng Shui had its source.[19] It extended from the valley of the Chin-sha Chiang by Yung-pei [the present Yung-sheng] to the rear of the mountains of the city of Yen-yüan, and where the Sheng Shui appears [that is, up to the confluence of the Ya-lung with the Yangtze].

"Ku-fu hsien 姑復縣[20] lay in the south of Yen-yüan and consisted of the present Chung-so, Yu-so, Lo-kuo 羅果 and No-lung 糯弄."[21]

[18] Ta-tso was a hsien belonging to the Chün of Yüeh-sui during the Han dynasty. It is the land west of the present Mien-ning hsien of Ssu-ch'uan and is situated at the confluence of the Jo Shui and Sheng Shui 繩水 [the former is the Ya-lung and the latter the Yangtze]. Mien-ning hsien is considerably to the north on the An-ning Ho and about 420 li as the crow flies from the confluence of the Ya-lung and Yangtze. The An-ning Ho is called Sun Shui 孫水 (*see* further discussion of the name Sui 遂). According to the *Mien-ning hsien chih* 冕寧縣志 ch. 2, fol. 23, Ta-tso hsien was established at the same time as T'ai-teng in 111 B.C. Later it was united with it. The above records make Ta-tso, T'ai-teng identical with Mien-ning. It would be more correct to state that the land of the present-day Mien-ning was included in Ta-tso.

[19] Now this statement would seem absurd, for the ancient name of the Yangtze according to the *Shui tao t'i kang* 水道提綱 is Sheng Shui and the source of the Yangtze is in the high plateau of northern Tibet. The *Chia-ch'ing I-t'ung chih*, ch. 400, fol. 8b, states under the heading Chin-sha Chiang that the river is called Sheng Shui from beyond where it enters the region of Ta-tso at the confluence with the Jo Shui (Ya-lung). This then makes the statement by the Yen-yüan magistrate Wu understandable. All these misunderstandings in Chinese historical geography are due to the giving of different names to various sections of one and the same river. Many books are quoted but at the end one is left to take one's choice, for no definite statement is made as to the correct name.

[20] The last edition of the *Yün-nan T'ung-chih*, ch. 33, fol. 40b, states that a confusion exists and that it is not clear where Ku-fu was situated. Yet in the tables of the Li-chiang district it says that Ku-fu hsien was the land of the present day Li-chiang. During the Ch'ien Sung dynasty (420–478) there were two Ku-fu hsien, an Eastern (Tung) Ku-fu and a Western (Hsi) Ku-fu. Both were in the present district of Li-chiang.

Again, according to the records of the *Shui-ching chu* (Commentary on the Water classic) Ku-fu was in the district of Ta-yao. Both statements are probably quite correct. Boundaries in ancient days were not fixed in these outlying regions, and Ta-yao is south of Yen-yüan and east of Li-chiang.

[21] The southern boundary of the Chung-so territory is stated to extend 400 li south to No-lung on the Yangtze and adjoining the Yün-nan Ta-yao hsien. This gives us the ap-

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"According to the *Shui-ching chu* 水經注, the Ch'a Ho 瀓河 is identical with the Yen Shui, and flows through Ku-fu hsien and debouches south into the Jo Shui [Ya-lung]. 193 131

In the T'ang dynasty. — "During the T'ang dynasty the seven districts as K'un-ming, Ch'ang-ming 昌明, the two hsien of Mi chou 濛州 and the three hsien of Lao chou 姚州 were all included in the district of Ku-fu. [This would corroborate the statement in the *Yün-nan T'ung-chih* that Ku-fu was the land of the present Li-chiang, for during the T'ang dynasty Li-chiang was called K'un-ming hsien.] The district of Ch'ang-ming was south-west of Yen-yüan hsien and was in Sui chou. In the 22nd year of Cheng-kuan 貞觀 (648) the Sung-wai man 松外蠻 established the district of Lao chou. The Emperor T'ai-tsung 太宗 [Cheng-kuan] thereupon sent the soldiers of 12 departments [chou] of Shu (Ssu-ch'uan) to attack the Sung-wai man, whereupon over 72 tribes submitted.

Under the Mongols. — "In the Yüan dynasty the chou of Chin 金州 of the territory of Li-tou 利賣," the Lo-lan Chang-kuan-ssu 落蘭長官司 (Senior native official of Lo-lan [a Lo-lo tribesman]), and the Pacification Commissioner of Po-hsing [Yen-yüan] as well as Jun-yen hsien, were all subject to, or belonged to the district of Ku-fu.

"However the chou of Yüeh-pien 月邊 was subordinate to the territory of Kua-pieh, while all the different towns and villages of Hsi-lu 西瀘 and Sha-yeh 沙野 were subordinate to Ho-hsi 河西. [Ho-hsi is one stage south-west of Hsi-ch'ang (Ning-yüan fu), situated below the crest of a mountain spur which forms the western valley wall of Chien-ch'ang.]

Under the Ming dynasty. — "The Ming dynasty Military Station of Yen-ching, the chiliarch on service for garrison duty on the Ta-ch'ung Ho 打冲河守禦千戶所, and Yen-chung-tso-so 鹽中左所 all belonged to one hsien. This means that during the Han and T'ang dynasties several chou and hsien were made into one hsien, and proves that the frontiers of the district of Yen-yüan extend in part beyond those of ancient times. Half of the land of the district of Sui-chiu belongs to the Yung-pei district, and half of the land of Ch'ang-ming belongs to the district of Hsi-ch'ang, while the territory of Lo-lan pu never extended to Lu-ku.

"In the Ming dynasty the land of Chung-so and Tso-so adjoined the territory of the Mu family 木氏 [Mu chiefs of Li-chiang, but now they are no

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proximate location of No-lung, which I could not find otherwise in all the reference books at my disposal.

" Chin hsien was north of Yen-yüan hsien. It was established during the Yüan Dynasty. In the Ming dynasty it was abolished. Chin hsien was governed, according to the *Geographical Records of the Yüan dynasty*, by Po-hsing fu. Its aboriginal (native barbarian) name was Li-tou-chieh-lo 利賣喝勒 (the name given it by the Nan-chao barbarians). In the 15th year of Chih-yüan 至元 (1278) Chin was established but was afterwards demoted to a hsien. In the land of this district was a mountain called Hu-p'o-bo Shan 斛婆勃山 where gold was mined, hence the name Chin hsien (Gold district). The mountain is 50 li west of Yen-yüan hsien and contains gold. The Li-tou-chieh-lo and Ju-k'u 蒗蕖 barbarians dwelled there.

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173 131 more adjacent to that territory, being separated by the district of Yung-ning].

The smaller district of to-day (1893). — "This proves that the district of Yen-yüan includes only parts of other districts and that its frontiers do not extend to those of ancient times. In fact it rules over only part of its former territory.

"The ancient people of Kua-pieh are called by the Ning-fan 寧番 the Shui-wai Sheng-fan 水外生番 (wild savages outside the river [either the Yangtze or the Ya-lung must be meant here])."[1] The people of Tso-so were Ma-la-fei's 馬剌非[2] peasants who were hated by Yung-ning. The Chung-so, Lang-ch'ü, and the Mu T'u-ssu of Li-chiang had disputes regarding boundary lines; the senior native officials of the above mentioned places had also occasional quarrels among themselves."

4. CONFIGURATION OF YEN-YÜAN

173 137 133 "Junipers"[3] grow on all the lofty peaks of the district of Yen-yüan, giving the latter a blue-green tint. The dragon-like rivers flow zigzag over its land. This district is situated between the Yün-nan and Ssu-ch'uan boundaries and here the Chinese and tribespeople live in contact.

"The land of Chiung 邛 and of Chiang 筰 is related to this district in the same way as lips are to teeth, while the Liao and Man tribes are as near to it as the fingers to the arm.

"Its passes over the lofty peaks, covered with fragrant junipers, can safely be guarded by one man. Salt and copper are its chief natural resources.

"Yen-yüan is the capital and cross-road of the Chiu-so 九所 (Nine military sub-stations). [Under Chiu-so must be understood the Five *So*, as well as the chieftains of Kua-pieh, Ma-la, Ku-pe-shu and Mu-li.]

5. ACCOUNTS OF YEN-YÜAN AND ANCIENT PLACES

173 101 *No-chi.* — "The city of No-chi 諾濟 was west of Yen-yüan hsien. It was established during the T'ang dynasty. At the close of the period T'ien-pao 天寶 (751) it was captured by the T'u-fan. In the 15th year of Cheng-yüan

[1] The Ning-fan are the inhabitants of Ning-fan Wei. The region was surrounded by the Hsi-fan tribe who dwelled there, therefore the Military Station of Ning-fan was called Ning-fan ch'eng 城. All the inhabitants were known as Ning-fan-man.

During the Yüan dynasty there was established a fu-city which was called Su chou 蘇州 in the wild parts of Chiung-tu 邛都. A native (Mongol) official of that region, by the name of Yüeh-lu-t'ieh-mu-erh 月魯帖木兒, rebelled, and there was then established the Military Station of Ning-fan. This was in the 27th year of Ming Hung-wu (1394).

Su chou was the territory at present governed by Mien-ning hsien. Ning-fan Wei was governed by the Ssu-ch'uan Hsing-tu-ssu 行都司. There were two classes of Fan savages — Sheng-fan (wild, raw, savages) and Shu-fan 熟番 (the ripe savages who had submitted to Chinese rule).

[2] This should read La-ma-fei, he was the son of La-t'a or La-wu, who ruled over the Tso-so territory 300 li south-west of Yen-yüan hsien.

[3] Probably *Juniperus Wallichiana* or *J. formosana*.

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2. MA-LA 馬喇

101 Although the Ma-la Fu Chang-kuan-ssu 馬喇副長官司 or Deputy senior native official of Ma-la[5] and his subjects do not belong to the Mo-so tribe but to the Tai or Shan whom the Chinese designate as Pa-i 擺夷, the territory is here included as it adjoins the So 所 of Yen-yüan. It seems strange that sandwiched in as it were among Mo-so we should here find the Tai or Shan (Pa-i) so far north. The compiler of the Yen-yüan District Records calls them P'o 獙, which is simply another nomenclature for this tribe. They are not to be confused with the Pai-jen 白人 or Pai-i 白夷 (White barbarians) of the ancient Pai-tzu Kuo, now known as Min-chia and who were the T'u-jen 土人, or aborigines, of the Nan-chao Kingdom.

In the *Yen-yüan hsien chih* it states that in the land of Tso there were three tribes, namely, the P'o, Hsi-fan and Mo-so. The P'o are claimed to be the descendants of the Yü-hsüeh Ch'iang 禹穴羌.[6]

"They are known as the most benevolent of tribes, hence the character P'o 獙, the radical of which is *jen* 人 (man) has been selected [in contradistinction to the dog radical 犭 which is commonly used in tribal names].

That they are the descendants of the Ch'iang of Yü-hsüeh is rather far-fetched, for the Ch'iang belong to the Tibeto-Burman stock to which the P'o or Pa-i do certainly not belong.

● 13 The *Yün-nan T'ung-chih*, ch. 200, fol. 5b, states that during the Han dynasty they dwelt at P'o-chou tien 叵剝甸, and in the T'ang dynasty at Pu-hsiung 步雄 and Hsi-o 鼷鼠. The former is the present Chiang-ch'uan hsien 江川縣 of Ch'eng-chiang fu 澄江府; the latter is the present Hsi-o hsien of Lin-an fu 臨安府. Hsi is also the name of a mountain in the south of Yün-nan.

"The subordinate magistracy of Ma-la is 350 li distant from Yen-yüan hsien. The eastern border is 60 li east of Ma-la at K'a-so-ching 卡所清 and adjoins the border of Chung-so. The southern border is marked by a stone tablet and is 60 li distant, adjoining the territory of the T'u-ssu Kao 高 of Yung-pei, Yün-nan. The western border is at Lo-k'o-ngai 羅可崖 50 li distant and adjoins the territory of the Chang 章 T'u-ssu of Yung-pei, Yün-nan. The northern border is at Chi-lo-ching 吉樂清, a distance of 70 li,

[5] In the *Ssu-ch'uan t'u-yi k'ao* (see p. 437 n. 3) pp. 36b–37a, there is also mentioned a Wa-la Chang-kuan-ssu 瓦剌長官司. His territory lay 350 li south-west of the Yen-ching garrison. It relates that the family name of the native official was A 阿 and that the first ancestor of the family was a native of that place. In the Hung-wu era (1368–1398) he returned to allegiance, assisted with the revenue and acquired merit whereupon he was given the rank of Chang-kuan which his sons and grandsons inherited. He paid 150 piculs of food supplies which were allotted to the garrison. His territory adjoined Pei-sheng chou (now Yung-sheng hsien the former Yung-pei) in Yün-nan. At the time of the composing of the above records the Wa-la Chang-kuan-ssu's name was A Sung 阿宋. On a map accompanying the text, the Ma-la Chang-kuan-ssu is to the north-west of Yen-ching wei.

[6] Yü-hsüeh is the name of a defile in the Wu mountains 巫山 which gives passage to the waters of the Yangtze. The mountain is east of Wu-shan hsien 巫山縣 in Ssu-ch'uan. The waters of the Yangtze pass east through the gorges of the Wu Mountains (*Chia-ch'ing I-t'ung chih*, ch. 397, fol. 6b).

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adjoining the Chung-so boundary. The entire circumference of the Ma-la territory is 240 li, or from north to south 130 li and from east to west 110 li.[7]

"The tribe inhabiting this territory and subject to the Ma-la chief numbers 125 households, composed of 411 people.

"The Ma-la chief pays taxes in kind, namely 40 *tan* [piculs] of buckwheat to the Hui-yen army corps for soldiers' rations. Only one tribe inhabits this territory, namely, the Pa-i or Shan. Their natural disposition is pure-minded and honest. The clothing of the men and women is the same as that of the Chinese. In case they are involved in a lawsuit, they are judged by their local official."

According to the *Ssu-ch'uan T'ung-chih*, ed. 1733, ch. 19, fols. 50a-b, the Ma-la territory extends east to the land Pa-hei 巴黑地, south to the borders of San-ma-la 三馬喇, west to the district of Lang-chü, and north to Mi-to 猕多.

The second edition of the *Ssu-ch'uan T'ung-chih* (1816), ch. 97, fol. 19a, states that the Ma-la territory extends east to Nan-teng-teng 南鄧鄧 60 li to the borders of the Yün-nan Chang T'u-ssu; south to the mountain called Kai-p'ai Shan 界牌山,[8] 75 li adjoining the border of the Yün-nan Kao 高 T'u-ssu; west 40 li to Lo-k'o-ngai adjoining the border of the territory belonging to the Yün-nan Chang T'u-ssu; north 90 li to Chi-lo-chai 吉落寨 (stockaded village), adjoining the Chung-so T'u-ssu territory.

Genealogy of the Ma-la Fu Chang-kuan-ssu (Senior native deputy official.) — According to the Yen-yüan Records his first ancestor was called A Shih-hsün 阿世勳 and was the first deputy official of Ma-la. He himself belonged to the Pa-i tribe. In the 16th year of Ch'ing Shun-chih 順治 (1659) he submitted to the empire, whereupon the Emperor issued him an official seal and letters patent ordering him to reside in and administer the affairs of the Ma-la territory.[9]

"A Shih-chung 阿世忠, younger brother of Hsün 勳 by the same mother, succeeded to the position in the sixth year of K'ang-hsi (1667). [The *Ssu-ch'uan T'ung-chih* of 1816 states that A Shih-chung submitted in the 19th year of K'ang-hsi (1680).]

"A Feng-ch'ien 阿鳳謙, the eldest son of Chung's 忠 legal wife, succeeded to his father's position in the 38th year of K'ang-hsi (1699). [The 1733 edition of the *Ssu-ch'uan T'ung-chih* states the 22nd year or 1683, and further says that his ancestors administered hereditarily the affairs of Ma-la

[7] The Yen-yüan Records state that the Chou-wei 周圍 (circumference) of the Ma-la territory is 240 li; this is not correct for it actually represents the diameter; 130 li from north to south and 110 li from east to west. This is, however, the Chinese way of expressing the circumference of a territory.

[8] There is a Kai-p'ai-p'u-p'u 界牌舖舖 (Guard station of Kai-p'ai) which is 80 li east of Yen-yüan hsien.

[9] The name of A Shih-hsün does not appear in either of the editions of the *Ssu-ch'uan T'ung-chih* nor does the entire genealogy, which has apparently been compiled from the personal family records of the Ma-la T'u-ssu.

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173 prior to the Ming dynasty, that is, before 1368. He was given a diploma [but neither seal nor letters patent] appointing him Chan-kuan-ssu (Senior native official), not deputy or *Fu* as given in the other Records].

"A Heng 阿衡, the first legal grandchild of Ch'ien, succeeded his grandfather in the 14th year of Ch'ien-lung (1749).

"A Chi-ch'ang 阿際昌, eldest son of Heng's legal wife, succeeded to his father's position in the 53rd year of Ch'ien-lung (1788).

"A Hui-chien 阿繪鑑, eldest son of Ch'ang's legal wife, succeeded to his father's position in the 19th year of Chia-ch'ing (1814).

"A Wen-chu 阿文鼒, eldest son of Chien's legal wife, succeeded to his father's position in the 13th year of Tao-kuang (1833).

"A Wu-i 阿武毅, eldest son of Chu's legal wife, succeeded his father in the seventh year of Hsien-feng (1857).

"A Wu-ching 阿武經, younger brother of I by the same mother, succeeded to his brother's position in the 16th year of Kuang-hsü (1890)."

The T'u-ssu resides at the village of Hsin-ts'un-chai 新村寨. In the 14th year of Tao-kuang (1834) a census was carried out to ascertain the number of inhabitants of the various military stations under Yen-yüan. The Ma-la territory at that time had 125 families consisting of 411 tribespeople.

3. KU-PO-SHU 古柏樹

● 131 "Ku-po-shu 古柏樹 (Old cypress tree) is situated 40 li from Yen-yüan hsien. The eastern border extends 120 li to Wu-li-p'ai 五里牌,[10] of the village of Mei-tzu-p'u 梅子鋪 adjoining to the territory of Yu-so. The southern border extends 40 li to Ta Ho 大河, adjoining the boundary of Pai-yen-ching 白鹽井 (White salt-well).[11] The western border extends to the Tsa-na Mountain 咱那山 and Shu-p'u-o 樹普窩, adjoining the boundary of the Tso-so territory and Mu-li. The northern border extends 90 li to Li-tzu-kou 李子溝, A-po-ku-erh 阿柏古兒, La-chia-o 拉呷窩 and Hei-che Ho 黑者河, adjoining the territory of the Kua-pieh 瓜別 Pacification Commissioner. The circumference of the entire Ku-po-shu territory is 700 li.

651 "The Ch'ien-hu of Ku-po-shu rules over 35 villages inhabited by two tribes, the Mo-so and Hsi-fan. He pays taxes in kind consisting of 26 *tan* [piculs] of buckwheat for the rations of the soldiers of the Hui-yen army. In the 19th year of Chia-ch'ing (1814) this district offered to pay an additional tax of four taels silver which was to be paid regularly to the Yen-yüan

[10] Mei-tzu-p'u is 175 li east of Yen-yüan. Wu-li-p'ai has reference to a *p'ai* (boundary) tablet five li distant from Mei-tzu-p'u.

[11] Pai-yen-ching is a little mud-walled town with a population of about 10,000 souls all of whom are working at the two brine wells which lie in a ravine to the south of it. The town itself is at the western end of the Yen-yüan plateau. The salt-wells are about 75 feet deep, one being small and the other large. The brine is raisd by buckets at the end of bamboo rods worked by hand. The salt is mostly exported to the Chien-ch'ang 建昌 valley by mule transport. Yen-ching prides itself on its mosque [a miserable building] of more or less recent construction. Prior to the Moslem rebellion there were three mosques, but these were destroyed by the Chinese. The present day Mohammedan population of Yen-ching consists of 45 families.

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hsien. He also ruled over two native chiefs: one of whom resided at A-sa 阿撒,[13] and the other at Lu-ma-liu-ts'ao 錄馬六草."[14]

The *Ssu-ch'uan T'ung-chih*, edition of 1816, ch. 97, fol. 19 a-b, states that his territory extends 120 li east to the Ta-ch'ung Ho, adjoining the Chinese territory of the sub-magistracy of Ho-hsi 河西 and Yen-chung 鹽中 of Yen-yüan hsien. The southern border extends also to the Yen-yüan district, a distance of 40 li; west to Tsa-na Shan 90 li to the Mu-li border. The northern border extends to Ku-erh 古耳, and the Hei-che Ho 90 li to the Kua-pieh territory.

Imperial audiences and tribute. — "In the 49th year of Ch'ien-lung (1784) the first-class chiefs of the aborigines were for the first time commanded to have audience with the Emperor. Lang Shih-chung 郎世忠, accompanied by native leaders, took with him the following articles of tribute: Four small boxes of *ch'ang-pu* 菖蒲 [the rhizomes of *Acorus calamus* var. *vulgaris* L. which grows in swampy places in this region], weighing 12 catties; four *fu-ling* 伏苓 [commonly known as China-root, a species of fungus *Pachyma pinetorum* growing from the roots of pines, and used medicinally by the Chinese] weighing 40 catties; four bear galls weighing six taels; two pairs of snake galls weighing ½ of a tael; four wooden bowls weighing eight taels [made from the cancroid growth of maple trees (*Acer*); these growths are rather rare and highly priced for the turning of Tibetan tea-bowls; they are exceedingly light and beautifully mottled; the finest are worth 50 silver dollars apiece]; four bundles of Tibetan incense (*tsang-hsiang* 藏香) weighing one catty, four pockets of musk [from the musk-deer *Moschus moschatus* and *M. chrysogaster*]; four leopard skins weighing 16 catties; four foxskins weighing three catties. All these articles were offered to the Emperor, who rewarded him with a dark-blue colored button to be worn on his hat, a ceremonial robe, and a suit with official badges, a necklace and other objects. In the first moon of the 50th year of Ch'ien-lung (February 9th-March 10th, 1785) he returned to his native village to assume his official duties. Whenever he was ordered to attend the Imperial audience he either went to Peking in person or sent his representative. He was always rewarded by the Emperor with excellent gifts."

Genealogy of the Ku-po-shu T'u Ch'ien-hu (Chiliarch). — "Lang Chün-wei 郎俊偉 was the first Chiliarch of Ku-po-shu. He himself belonged to the Mo-so tribe. In the 49th year of K'ang-hsi (1710) he returned to allegiance whereupon the Emperor issued him an official seal and letters patent ordering him to reside at Ku-po-shu.

"Lang San-pao 郎三寶, eldest son of the legal wife of Wei 偉, succeeded to his father's position in the second year of Yung-cheng (1724).

[13] This is the A-sa-la T'u-ssu; the name of the present incumbent is Ko Shih-huai 葛世槐, who is subject not to the magistracy of Yen-yüan but to the hsien of Yen-pien 鹽邊縣; his territory is now known as Pi-chü-lu.

[14] The land of the tribes of Lu-ma-liu-ts'ao connects with the territory of Hang-chou-p'u 杭州舖 which is 160 li north-east of Yen-yüan hsien.

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173 The present Tso-so T'u-ssu's name is La Hung-chu 喇鴻篤. He is a young man, 33 years of age.

"In Tso-so territory there are three stockaded villages of importance; one is called the Tso-so t'u-chai 左所土寨, where the chief resides, another, Tu-hsieh-chai 獨協寨, and the third is called Ku-lu t'u-chai 估祿土寨 [this should read in all probability Lu-ku t'u-chai]." [*See also* Tso-so T'u-ssu *under* Yung-ning Territory.]

"The census of 1834 revealed a population of 1,001 families composed of 3,270 tribespeople."

7. YU-SO 右所

●131 173 "The seat of the Yu-so T'u Ch'ien-hu 右所土千戶 is 120 li from Yen-yüan hsien. The eastern border is beyond the Ta-ch'ung Ho and adjoins the boundary of the district of Hsi-ch'ang, 120 li distant. The southern border adjoins the district of Hui-li and also of Ta-yao hsien of Yün-nan. The western border is conterminous with that of A-so-la 阿所拉 and Chung-so, a distance of 290 li. The northern border extends to Hang-chou 杭州[20] and adjoins the border of Yen-yüan hsien, a distance of 120 li. The Yen-yüan Records give the circumference of the Yu-so territory as 1,900 li.

The *Ssu-ch'uan t'u-i k'ao* of the Ming Wan-li period (1573–1620) states that the family name of the Yu-so chiliarch is Pa 八 and that his distant ancestor was a native of that place. He paid tribute with all the other So as in years previous.

His territory adjoined Lang-ch'ü chou in Yün-nan. It also records that his lands were oppressed and repeatedly raided, that his soldiers, etc., were inadequate and that they lived without protection.

What has been recorded in the Ming dynasty holds still good to-day, for the present T'u-ssu is at the mercy of the Lo-lo.

"The *Ssu-ch'uan T'ung-chih* [edition 1816] gives the borders as follows: East 150 li to Ma-an Shan 馬鞍山 (Horse-saddle Mountain), adjoining the chou of P'u-chi 普機州[21] governed by Ning-yüan fu [Hsi-ch'ang]: south 180 li to A-ni-ta-chia 阿呢, 哪 adjoining the Ta-yao (hsien) district of Yün-nan: west 110 li to the village of Ting-chia 丁家 subject to Yen-yüan; north 130 li to the Ta-ch'ung Ho adjoining the sub-magistracy of Yen-chung[22] at the village of Ying-chia (chuang) 鷹家庄. The edition of 1733

[20] Hang-chou-p'u (village) is 160 li north-east of Yen-yüan.

[21] At P'u-chi chou was a Chang-kuan-ssu, by name Chi 吉, who was a native of P'ing chou 平州 in the province of Kuei-chou. His first ancestor Chi San-chia 吉三甲 was appointed T'u chih-chou 土知州 (Native sub-prefect) in the seventh year of Ming Hung-wu (1374). In the 49th year of K'ang-hsi (1710) Chi was appointed hereditary Chang-kuan-ssu of P'u-chi chou and ruled over four tribes, the Lo-lo, Lu-lu 魯魯, Hsi-fan and P'u-chia 蒲家.

[22] Yen-chung was 140 li west of Yen-yüan hsien. In the T'ang dynasty it was the land of Sha-yeh. In the Yüan dynasty it was the land of Lu chou. During the reign of Ming Hung-wu there was established the Ta-ch'ung Ho Chung-so Ch'ien-hu-so, subject to Yen-ching wei. In the beginning of Yung-cheng the Wei was abolished and it became subject to Ning-yüan fu, and a sub-magistracy was established.

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gives still other boundary names, as south to San-chiang-k'ou 三江口 (Mouth of three rivers) and north to Te-ch'ang so 德昌所. It is possible that these places were later abolished and the boundary redetermined, — so it is best to adhere to the Yen-yüan Records of 1893.

"The tribespeople under the control of the Yu-so Ch'ien-hu inhabit 59 villages. The *Ssu-ch'uan T'ung-chih* of 1733 gives the number of tribespeople as 830 families, and the 1816 edition as 595 households.

"The census of 1834 gives a population of 595 families consisting of 2,821 members.

"The Yu-so Ch'ien-hu pays an annual tax in kind consisting of 20 *tan* of buckwheat; this is delivered to the army corps of Hui-yen for soldiers' rations. Dating from the 18th year of Chia-ch'ing (1813) the chiliarch pays a land improvement tax of 22.011 taels to the Yen-yüan magistrate."

Genealogy of the Yu-so Ch'ien-hu. — "Pa Hsi 八璽 was the first ancestor of the Yu-so Chiliarch and belonged to the Mo-so tribe. He returned to allegiance in the 49th year of K'ang-hsi (1710), whereupon the Emperor issued him an official seal and letters patent ordering him to reside in the village of Hsi-te (chai) 喜得寨 in the district of Yu-so as T'u-ch'ien-hu (Native chiliarch).

"Pa Ssu-ch'ang 八仕昌, eldest legal grandson of Hsi, succeeded the latter in the 16th year of Ch'ien-lung (1751).

"Pa Ching-pang 八靖邦, second son of Hsi, succeeded to his nephew's position in the 33rd year of Ch'ien-lung (1768).

"Pa Ssu-k'uei 八仕魁, eldest son of Pang, succeeded to his father's position in the 38th year of Ch'ien-lung (1773).

"Pa Ming-jui 八鳴瑞, eldest legal grandson of K'uei, succeeded to his grandfather's position in the seventh year of Chia-ch'ing (1802).

"Pa Ming-hsi 八鳴熙, second son of Pa Yin-ho 八音和, succeeded Jui as chiliarch in the first year of Tao-kuang (1821). In the 11th year (1831) with a heavy stick he beat to death a Chinese, whereupon he was dismissed from office; he left no heir.

"Pa Hsing-tsung 八興宗, great-grandson of Pa Ssu-ch'ang, succeeded to the position of chiliarch in the 16th year of Tao-kuang (1836). In the fourth year of Hsien-feng (1854) he joined the Imperial troops and attacked the Yün-nan bandit Chang Ta-chio-pan, showing great courage and bravery; he was killed in battle. The Emperor conferred on him the posthumous hereditary title Yün-ch'i-yü 雲騎尉 [hereditary rank of nobility of eighth degree].

"Pa Shou-ch'un 八壽椿, eldest son of the legal wife of Tsung, succeeded to his father's position in the sixth year of Hsien-feng (1856).

"Pa Pao-ch'eng 八寶成, second son of Tsung, succeeded his elder brother as chiliarch in the third year of T'ung-chih (1864).

"Pa Jen-hsiang 八仁祥, a near relative of Ch'eng, succeeded to the position of chiliarch in the fourth year of T'ung-chih (1865). In the sixth year (1867) the Yün-nan brigands [Mohammedan rebels] besieged Yen-yüan whereupon he led his tribal troops to the defense of the place and to exter-

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173 minate the rebels. He was rewarded by the Emperor with the button of the third rank."

The present (1940) T'u-ssu of Yu-so is called Pa Ch'üan-chung 八全忠.

The seat of the chiliarch of Yu-so is Hsi-te-chai 喜德寨 (elsewhere it is written 斜).

8. CH'IEN-所 前所

173 131 "The territory of the Ch'ien-so T'u-pai-hu 前所土百戶 is 400 li from Yen-yüan. The eastern border is formed by the water-course called Ch'ang-lo-shui (kou) 長羅水溝 adjoining the Mu-li boundary, a distance of 56 li; the southern border is at Nieh (Yeh)-po-kuo 業波果 adjoining the border of the Tso-so Chiliarch, a distance of 30 li; the western border is at the mountain spur of the village of A-ju-neng 阿汝能村山嘴 adjoining the Yün-nan border, a distance of 40 li; the northern border is at the mountain and village of Ch'u-chu 出猪村山, adjoining the Mu-li boundary, a distance of 30 li. From north to south the territory is 60 li and from east to west 96 li in diameter."

"The T'u-pai-hu rules over eight villages inhabited by Mo-so [or rather a branch of the Mo-so called Lü-khi. The *Ssu-ch'uan T'ung-chih*, (ed. 1816), states that he rules over 65 families.] The census of 1834 gives the inhabitants as numbering 457 tribespeople, or 65 families. The seat of the T'u-ssu is the village of Li-ta 利達寨 [The Hli-khin Hli-da].

"The Ch'ien-so T'u-ssu pays an annual tax in kind amounting to one picul, six pecks and eight pints of buckwheat; this delivered to the Hui-yen army corps for soldiers' rations."

The *Ssu-ch'uan t'u-i kao* of the Ming Wan-li period (1573–1620) states that the family name of the Ch'ien-so Chiliarch is A 阿 and that he submitted to the Ming; that he continued to pay tribute and assisted in the maintenance of the courier system. At the time the work was composed (no exact date is given), the ruling chief was A Yung-ch'en 阿永臣. His territory was very cramped and narrow and adjoined Li-chiang whose native chief Mu Wang occupied his lands and left only a corner for the tribesmen to live in.

A Yung-ch'en was isolated and weak and unable to restore his position.

It seems that while during the Ming dynasty he was of equal rank to the Tso-so, he was reduced to a Tu-pai-hu or Centurion during the Ch'ing. What the Ming composer recorded as to the weakness of the chief has not been improved, for very recently the territory had been absorbed by Mu-li but in 1944 was again restored to the A family or what is left of it for the last chief murdered his brother whose wife arranged to have him murdered in turn by a relative.

The *Ssu-ch'uan T'ung-chih* (ed. 1816) gives the borders as follows: 50 li east to Lo-shui-kou on the Mu-li Pacification Commissioner's territory; north to the village of Ch'u-tu 褚都村, also adjoining Mu-li territory. The edition of 1733 gives the eastern border at Hou-shan 後山; south to Yung-

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ning fu in Yün-nan; west on the Tso-so border; and north to the Mu-li border. 173 131

Genealogy of the Ch'ien-so T'u-pai-hu. — "A Ch'eng-fu 阿成福 was the first ancestor of the Ch'ien-so T'u-ssu [T'u-pai-hu or ruler over 100 families] and belonged to the Mo-so tribe. He returned to allegiance in the 49th year of K'ang-hsi (1710), whereupon the Emperor gave him an official seal and letters patent appointing him Centurion of Ch'ien-so. 173

"A Cheng-jung 阿正榮, eldest legal grandson, succeeded to his grandfather's position in the 21st year of Ch'ien-lung (1756).

"A Te-kuei 阿德貴, eldest legal grandson of Jung, succeeded the latter in the 49th year of Ch'ien-lung (1784). He ruled for 52 years.

"A Jen-shou 阿仁壽, eldest son of the legal wife of Kuei, succeeded his father in the 16th year of Tao-kuang (1836).

"A Shih-ch'ang 阿世昌, eldest son of the legal wife of Shou, succeeded to his father's position in the ninth year of Hsien-feng (1859). In the sixth year of T'ung-chih (1867) he raised defense-works against the Yün-nan bandits [Moslem rebels] and was therefore rewarded by the Emperor with the Blue Plume of the fourth rank and appointed to perform the function of a Tu-ssu 都司 (First Captain).

"A Kuo-hsing 阿國興, eldest son of the legal wife of Ch'ang, succeeded to his father's position in the 16th year of Kuang-hsü (1890)."

The present T'u-ssu is A Ch'ao-tung 阿朝棟. [For further information about this T'u-ssu and the Ch'ien-so territory, *see* Ch'ien-so *under* Yung-ning].

9. HOU-SO 後所

"The Territory of the Hou-so T'u-pai-hu 後所土百戶 is 400 li from Yen-yüan. The eastern border is formed by the Hsiao-ch'iao Ho 小橋河 adjoining the Mu-li border, 30 li distant; the southern border is formed by the Pai-lo Mountain 白落山 adjoining the Tso-so border, 100 li distant; the western border is formed by the Ya-k'o-ya Mountain 押克雅山." [Here the records end owing to pages missing in the *Yen-yüan hsien chih*]. 173 131

The *Ssu-ch'uan t'u-i k'ao* of the Ming Wang-li period relates that the rank of the Hou-so chief was that of Chiliarch. However, like the Ch'ien-so chief he was reduced to a Centurion during the Ch'ing. It is interesting to note that the above Ming work gives the family name of the Hou-so chief as Pu 卜, this is the only record of this name as far as I am aware. It is possible that on account of the name Pu recalling too much that of a native barbarian, the family changed its name to Pai 白 during the Ch'ing.

Like the territory of his confreres the Ch'ien-so and Tso-so chiefs, his was also overrun by the troops of the powerful Li-chiang chief Mu Wang 木旺, (*q.v.*), and seized by the latter.

The Hou-so chief's name during the Ming Wan-li period was Pu-Yüan-chi 卜元吉. He was too weak and unable to regain possession of his land.

The *Ssu-ch'uan T'ung-chih* (ed. 1816) states that the eastern border extends 30 li to Hsiao-ch'iao, adjoining the Mu-li border; the southern border

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173 100 li to the summit of Mt. La-pai-lo 喇白洛山, adjoining Tso-so territory; the western border extends to Mt. Ya-ya-k'o 雅雅克山, a distance of 131 80 li, adjoining Mu-li territory; the northern border extends 15 li to the banks of the Ta Ho 大河邊 adjoining Mu-li territory. The diameter of the Hou-so territory amounts to 155 li from north to south, and 110 li from west to east.

The chief rules over 74 families and pays taxes in kind amounting to four pecks and two pints of buckwheat which are delivered to the Hui-yen army corps for soldiers' rations. In the *Ssu-ch'uan T'ung-chih* of 1733 it states that he rules over 27 households, the taxes being the same.

All the different *So* under Yen-yüan are inhabited by three tribes, namely, the Mo-so, Hsi-fan and Pa-i or Tai. Thus states the Ssu-ch'uan Topography. Of late, however, Lo-lo have immigrated from Ta-liang Shan 大涼山 and probably now outnumber all the other tribes.

"The village in which the Hou-so chief resides is called Mi-ya 密雅寨. The census of 1834 gives the number of families residing in Hou-so as 74, composed of 105 tribespeople."

173 *Genealogy of the Hou-so T'u-pai-hu.* — "Pai Ma-t'a* 白馬塔 was the first ancestor of the Hou-so T'u-pai-hu (Centurion or chief of 100 households). He was a Mo-so tribesman and returned to allegiance in the 49th year of K'ang-hsi (1710), whereupon the Emperor gave him an official seal and letters patent appointing him to reside in Hou-so, and administer its affairs as native centurion.

"Pai Erh-chü 白耳居, eldest son of the legal wife of T'a, succeeded to his father's position in the ninth year of Ch'ien-lung (1744).

"Pai Tsung-yao 白宗耀, eldest son of the legal wife of Chü, succeeded to his father's position in the 34th year of Ch'ien-lung (1769).

"Pai Shih-jung 白世榮, eldest son of the legal wife of Yao, succeeded to his father's position in the 54th year of Ch'ien-lung (1789).

"Pai Kuo-hsien 白國憲, eldest son of the legal wife of Jung, succeeded to his father's position in the 17th year of Chia-ch'ing (1812).

"Pai T'ing-chang 白廷璋, eldest son of the legal wife of Hsien, succeeded his father as centurion in the 21st year of Tao-kuang (1841).

"Pai T'ing-shan 白廷珊, adopted son of Hsien 憲, succeeded to the position of Centurion of Hou-so in the 27th year of Tao-kuang (1847).

"Pai Huai-hsing 白懷興, eldest son of the legal wife of Shan, succeeded to his father's position in the 11th year of Kuang-hsü (1885).

"Pai Chung-yo 白鍾耀 is the present centurion of Hou-so. Neither his relationship to his predecessor, nor the date of assumption of office is known.

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CHAPTER I

YÜN-NAN AND ITS COMMUNICATIONS

Situation of Yün-nan—Importance and interest of Yün-nan—Its communications.

To how many people does the name Yün-nan convey anything at all? Those who do not know in what part of the globe it is situated are ignorant in good company. For a distinguished official wishing to study the question of Yün-nan railways, sent for a map of Canada! He was surprised to find that they spelt the name Yukon.

Yün-nan must be looked for not in the neighbourhood of Klondike, but in the south-west corner of China. It is a province that deserves to be better known, for it has more than one claim on the attention of Englishmen. First of all it borders the eastern frontier of our Indian Empire for several hundred miles. Secondly, if India and the Yangtze are ever connected by railway, it is through Yün-nan that the line must pass. Add to this that the south-eastern part of the province borders the French colony of Tong-king, while its north-west corner just touches Tibet, and here at once is enough to make Yün-nan interesting politically and commercially.

But it is not only to the statesman and the merchant that Yün-nan will appeal. For the geographer and the explorer there are still many blank spaces on the map. To the geologist and the mining engineer its great mountain ranges must contain much of interest. For the ethnologist, above all, it is a wide field of research in which he might work for a lifetime and still leave much to be done by his successors. Nor has any systematic examination of the zoology or botany of the province as yet been made. There must be much interesting work for

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S
131 Nam-hkam will be found on the map in latitude 23° 50′
622 and longitude 97° 45′. It is in the Northern Shan States
P and is part of the large tract of country governed by the
131 sawbwa of Theinni, or Hsen-wi, to give the name in its
622 more correct Shan form. Nam-hkam has however a hereditary ruler of its own with the rank of Myosa, i.e. Town Eater, a suggestive title which seems to fully acknowledge the oriental principle that the chief duty of the taxpayer is to support his ruler. The Myosa is usually given the courtesy rank of Sawbwa, the Burmese corruption of the Shan word Sow-hpa, Lord of the Sky, which is the usual title of a Shan chief[1].

S
361 The town lies in an extremely rich plain some 30 miles
P long and six miles wide, full of Shan villages and paddy fields.
361 This plain is partly in the districts of Nam-hkam and Selan, and partly in the Chinese Shan State of Möng Mow[2]. It is inhabited entirely by Shans.

This very civilised and widely spread race call themS selves Tai, Shan being the Burmese name for them, while
101 the Chinese call them Pai-yi. The Siamese are now the
P only large kingdom of this race that remains, but they formerly governed a wide extent of country in western
101 Yün-nan and northern Burma, and at one time were so formidable that they conquered Burma and established a Shan dynasty there. The bulk of the Shans now live split up into a great number of semi-independent states, some tributary to Burma, some to China, and some (the Lao States) to Siam.

But the kingdom of Siam and these numerous Shan states do not by any means comprise all the members of this race. To the west one finds them in Assam and in the Chindwin valley. The plain country in the north of Burma, including the Bhamo, Mogaung and Momeit districts, is almost entirely inhabited by Shans. In southern Yün-nan and on the Tong-king border they occupy most of the low-lying valleys. There are even small communities of them in northern Yün-nan near the upper Yangtze, and I have found at least one Shan village in the Tibetan kingdom of Mi-li[3]. In Kuei-chou province they exist under the

[1] T'u-sz (local controller) is the Chinese equivalent.
[2] Or Möng-mao according to the system of transliterating Chinese.
[3] Lat. 28° 16′, long. 100° 36′.

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505 133 The Taping is navigable for boats from Manwaing to the capital of Möng Na which lies some thirty miles higher up, and a certain amount of cotton and other goods is carried by water over this short bit of river. Below Manwaing it passes through the Kachin Hills and runs in a gorge full of rapids which entirely preclude the idea of navigation. From Myothit down to its junction with the Irrawaddy, the Taping is again navigable for boats, and even small steamers can reach Myothit when the water is high.

• 131 At Manwaing the river runs though a large well-cultivated plain full of villages. Its length is quite 30 miles and it averages six miles across. It is divided into two Shan states, Möng Na (Kan-ai) on the left bank of the Taping, and San-ta (Chan-ta) on the right bank. But the actual village of Manwaing, with five other villages around it, is an isolated bit of territory belonging to the sawbwa of Möng Ti (Nan-tien), whose state lies 40 miles higher up, on the Nam Ti, the eastern branch of the Taping.

The origin of this arrangement we learnt from the San-ta sawbwa, who told us that in former times much of the western end of the plain was deserted for fear of incursions from the Burmese, and grants of land were offered by the Chinese Government to any chief who would send some of his subjects to establish themselves there. The offer was taken up by the Möng Ti sawbwa of that period, and his descendants still possess this little piece of land surrounded by San-ta territory.

361 The village contains 100 houses inhabited by Chinamen, is filthily dirty, full of pigs, and smells horribly, a most disagreeable contrast to the clean Shan villages round it.

712 At the eastern end of the place is a large salt depot where we were lodged. At the western end was a mud fort, garrisoned by 200 men of the Trade Protection Levy.

These troops were paid out of the dues exacted from the Chinese traders, and they thus cost the Government nothing. In return for these dues, the safety of the trading caravans was guaranteed while passing through the Kachin Hills which lie between Manwaing and the Burmese border. Anything dacoited on the road was made up to them by the

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S
133 Lu Chiang, the Shans the Nam Hkong, and our name for
S it is a corruption of the Burmese name Than-lwen. It is
491 crossed by another of the iron chain bridges, in this case of two spans, the only two-span bridge of this sort in the province as far as I know. The construction of the pier in the middle is assisted by the fact that the westerly span, which is 50 yards long only, crosses what is in the dry season chiefly shingle with a shallow stream running over it. The eastern span, 80 yards in length, crosses the main part of the river. The bridge has naturally been built at the narrowest place possible, so that 80 yards must not be taken as a fair estimate of the breadth of the Salween in this part of its course. Above and below the bridge its width varies from 100 to 160 yards. It has a fairly strong current and must be very deep in the middle.

At the time the bridge was under repair, and we had to cross by ferry two miles lower down. They were removing the stones of the pier to look at each chain and see whether it wanted replacing. The repair of the bridge is not undertaken by the Chinese Government, but is paid for by a
S
501 subscription got up by the merchants of T'êng-yüeh. It was noticeable that the ferry was worked by five bamboo
S rafts specially constructed for the purpose: there is not a
133 single boat in the plain. The Salween, like so many other Yünnanese rivers, is useless for navigation. There are quiet stretches where it would be quite possible, but the frequent occurrence of rapids would prevent boats from going more than a few miles.

We crossed the river and camped on the opposite bank at a height which my boiling-point thermometer made 2,200 feet, by far the lowest elevation anywhere in this
S part of Yün-nan. The climate was consequently at this
P time of year very pleasant, not hot in the daytime, and
137 not too cold at night. The vegetation was entirely different
101 from that of the country we had been passing through. Banyans, plantains, and other trees and shrubs peculiar to
S
P the warmer climates of Burma and the Shan States are to
131 be found everywhere. The valley is in fact inhabited by Shans who call the plain Mong Hkö and are ruled by a sawbwa who lives a few miles below the bridge. This is practically the limit of the Shan race in this direc-

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tion[1]: there are a few Shan villages to the north scattered up the Salween valley for a distance of 40 miles or so, but eastward no more of this race are now met with, though they doubtless did originally inhabit this country before it was taken by the Chinese.

European travellers have made a great deal of the unhealthiness of the Salween valley, but it must be remembered that all their information came from the Chinese. Now the Chinaman of Yün-nan lives in such a high-lying healthy country that in lower-lying places he is probably more liable to fever than a man of any other race. A height of 4000 feet or thereabouts is the limit below which the Yünnanese cannot live and keep their health, and this is the reason why the Shans have been able to retain possession of many of the rich plains of south-western China, while the few Chinese who live in that part of the country lead an uncivilized existence on the hill-tops. One seldom finds Shans living above 4000 feet, not that they cannot stand the climate, but because the Chinese *can* stand it, and have therefore dispossessed the original owners. In a few places such as Nan-tien, which averages a little under 4000 feet, one finds the two races living together, the Chinese slowly and gradually swamping the Shans.

The Salween valley is not considered more feverish than Mong Hkwan, Nam-hkam, and other Shan States. The Yünnanese avoid all these places from March to November, but the Shans continue to live in them all the year round, and in a subsequent journey I came across a colony of Ssŭ-ch'uan Chinese living in this same Salween valley only 40 miles above the bridge. I do not suppose the Lu-chiang-pa, as the Chinese call the plain, is exactly a health resort, but I expect its unhealthiness has been much exaggerated.

The Chinese say it is exceedingly dangerous to swim mules across the river, as there is a beast in it, which they describe as being like a blanket and full of mouths, which

[1] It is true that in a subsequent journey I discovered Shans in the north of Yün-nan and even in the Tibetan part of Ssŭ-ch'uan, but in such small and isolated communities as to be scarcely worth counting, except as a curiosity. See p. 378.

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of their deliberations had been that the *ch'ai* was to go to Mêng-hua and report there that I had arrived in that district. So he accordingly went his way on to the town after a last ineffectual attempt to persuade me to go there too.

One of the village police from Hsün-chien came with us as far as Tien-chung-kai, where our route left the main road, and from there we had no difficulty in getting a man, also a village policeman, to show us the way across the hills.

The road led up to the top of the range at a low gap (7,500 feet), from here down a narrow valley with steep and in some places wooded hills on either side, and finally up half a mile of stiff ascent to the village of Wu-li-hei. I put up in a very comfortable house owned by one of the principal men of the village, who lets travellers sleep there for a consideration.

The inhabitants of the place are a tribe of Lo-los called by the Chinese Mêng-hua Lo-lo or simply Mêng-hua Jên (i.e. Mêng-hua men). Their houses are built of mud and stone, all packed very closely together, and there is nothing in the appearance of the place to distinguish it from a Chinese village. They have in fact taken very much to Chinese customs and the men dress exactly like Chinamen; they can all speak Chinese, and some of them can also read and write it. The women have retained their tribal costume. Their dress consists of a sleeveless blue coat, and a blue skirt with trousers underneath it, the skirt and trousers reaching only down to the knee. The Mêng-hua Jên still use their own language among themselves, and a vocabulary that I took down in this village will be found in the pocket of the cover. They seem very well off; their houses are large, and they own considerable numbers of mules, ponies, cattle, buffaloes, and goats. This particular branch of the Lo-lo family occupy the greater part of the hills of the Mêng-hua district.

For the next two days our road led us through a mountainous country, the hill-sides sometimes bare and sometimes covered with pine forests, the inhabitants principally Lo-los. At the little village of Lu-chu-t'ang we joined into the main road from Mêng-hua, and early on the 10th we reached Sha-sung-shao, the first village in the Shun-ning district. From here there is a long bit of

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186 friends instantly dispersed in different directions. However one of them was a slow mover, and we soon caught him and gave him a good thrashing. This, however, turned out not to be the man who had actually shouted, though I have no doubt his licking did him a lot of good. So we set to work to search for the real culprit, and soon found him hiding in a wet nullah. After a short interview, we left him begging for mercy, covered with mud and water, with a bleeding nose and various bruises all over him, so perhaps he will be more civil in the future.

This expression, *yang kuei-tzŭ*, has come to be the usual name for a European among the Chinese, and I have heard it used by ignorant countrymen in out-of-the-way places, evidently without realising that there was anything insulting in it; but when shouted out in this way as one passes, it can only be meant as an insult, which it is one's duty to resent.

361 On the second day out from Hsüan-wei we passed through the large village of T'ang-t'ang, lying in a narrow valley shut in by steep hills. This is the headquarters of the lessee of the copper mines in this neighbourhood. [316] They get copper in many places near here, but they say the mines do not produce as much as they used to. We slept at Hsin-t'ien-p'u, at 7,250 feet. In the afternoon there was a heavy thunderstorm, which left a little patch of snow on one of the ranges.

On the 18th April after a long ascent we went downhill, very steeply, to the K'o-tu Ho, a river 20 yards wide, running with a rapid current over a rocky bed. In the dry season it is fordable, but later on in the year, when the rains are heavy, it gets very deep and is crossed by a ferry-boat, fastened to a wire rope which is stretched across the stream.

• 131 This river forms the longest source of the West River of Canton. It here marks the boundary between the provinces of Yün-nan and Kuei-chou[1], so that at Chan-p'o, 312 where we slept, we were in the latter province. The hills of this part of the country are very dry, and the villagers

[1] To be exactly accurate, there is a narrow strip of land on the left bank of the river which belongs to Yün-nan.

& Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

APPENDIX II

THE AREA, POPULATION AND INHABITANTS OF YÜN-NAN.

131 ROUGH measurements on the map give the area of the province of Yün-nan as about 150,000 square miles, and this may be accepted as approximately correct.

161 To estimate the population is a far more difficult matter. It is probable that fifty years ago the numbers were greater than at the present day, for doubtless great loss of life and emigration to other provinces took place during the Panthay rebellion, which lasted from 1854 to 1873. Since then the province has slowly recovered, and while the indigenous population has increased, there has also been a constant and steadily increasing stream of immigration from the neighbouring province of Ssŭ-ch'uan.

After my second journey in Yün-nan I made a rough calculation of the density of population to the square mile over those tracts of country which I had surveyed the most thoroughly. In all of these I had noted the number of houses in the towns and villages, and I allowed an average of six persons to each house.

The result gave about 400 to the square mile in the plains, and 40 to the square mile in the hilly tracts. Taking the whole province I calculate that about one-fifteenth of the total area is plain land, and the remainder hills. This then would give 10,000 square miles with a population of 400 to the mile, and 140,000 square miles with a population of 40 to the mile.

10,000 × 400 = 4,000,000 in the plains,
140,000 × 40 = 5,600,000 in the hills.

Total population 9,600,000.

[p. 306]

7: Hu K-5 (1934-) 1946 AF16 Southwest China AF16

CHAPTER I

SZECHUAN BASIN IN TRANSITION

121 The primary objective of this dissertation is a critical geographical evaluation of the agricultural and forestry land use of Szechuan Basin. Throughout the study emphasis has been placed on first, a presentation of the most characteristic features of the Basin, and second, a correlation of cultural life, especially agricultural and forestry land use practices, with the major natural elements of the Basin. Attention also is directed to the unique qualities which made the Basin a vital unit in China's resistance to invasion by the Japanese and to the growing significance in China's evolving economy.

•131 Szechuan Basin is one of the large and distinctive regions of China. Surrounded by lofty mountain ranges and unique in its cultural development, the Basin is a clear-cut geographic unit. It has a mild, humid climate, fertile soil, a diversity of agricultural products, abundant mineral resources, and numerous important forestry, horticultural, and animal products. Szechuan Basin may be justly said to be the most self-sufficient region of China. In fact, by virtue of the great diversity of its products, the Basin is almost a miniature model of all China. It is an empire within an empire.

175 Szechuan Basin is an ancient land from the standpoint of human occupation and utilization. Aside from the upper Yellow River Valley provinces, Szechuan Basin was the earliest area of China to be settled. The first organized Chinese migration into the Basin took place in the fifth century B.C. As early as the feudal Chin period (360-251 B.C.), the Basin had already begun to assume considerable economic-geographic importance in China's national life, a role which has increased in importance since that time.

166 On account of its central geographic position (in relation to the surrounding land-locked provinces of southwest China), the Basin has received greatly diversified groups of emigrants from

?; Hu K-5 (1934-) 1946 AF18 Southwest China AF18

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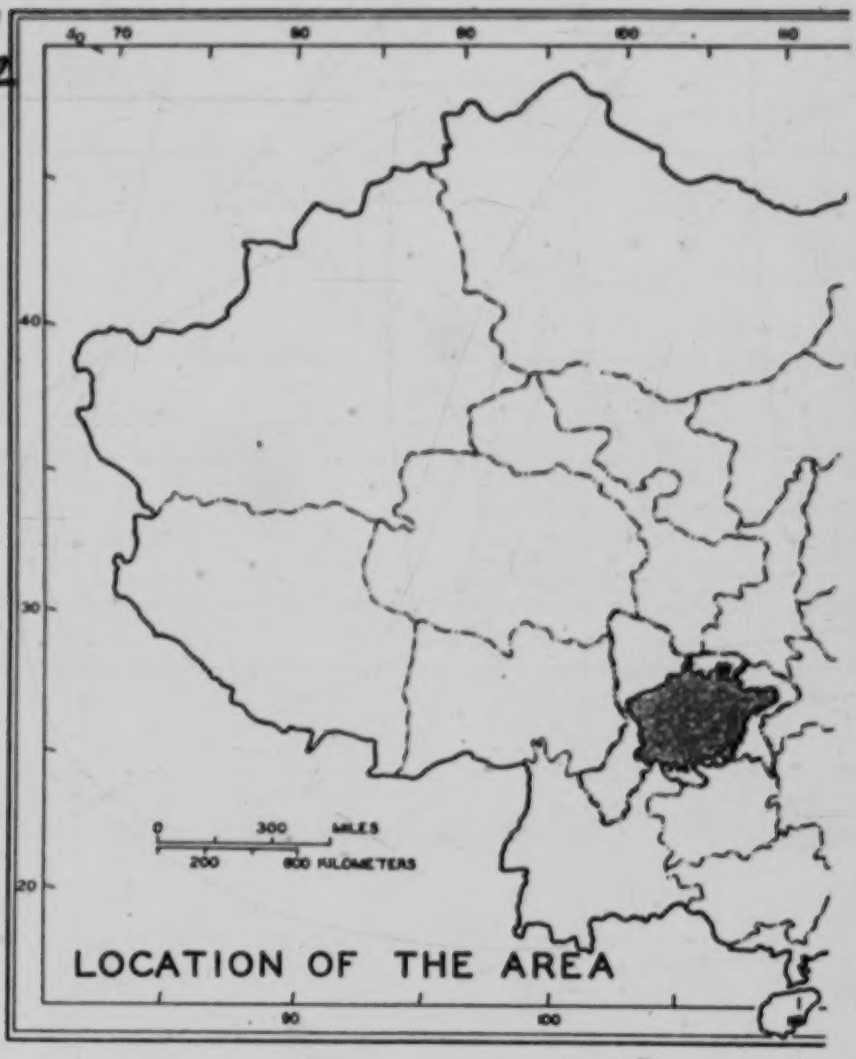

[End map 1 (a)]

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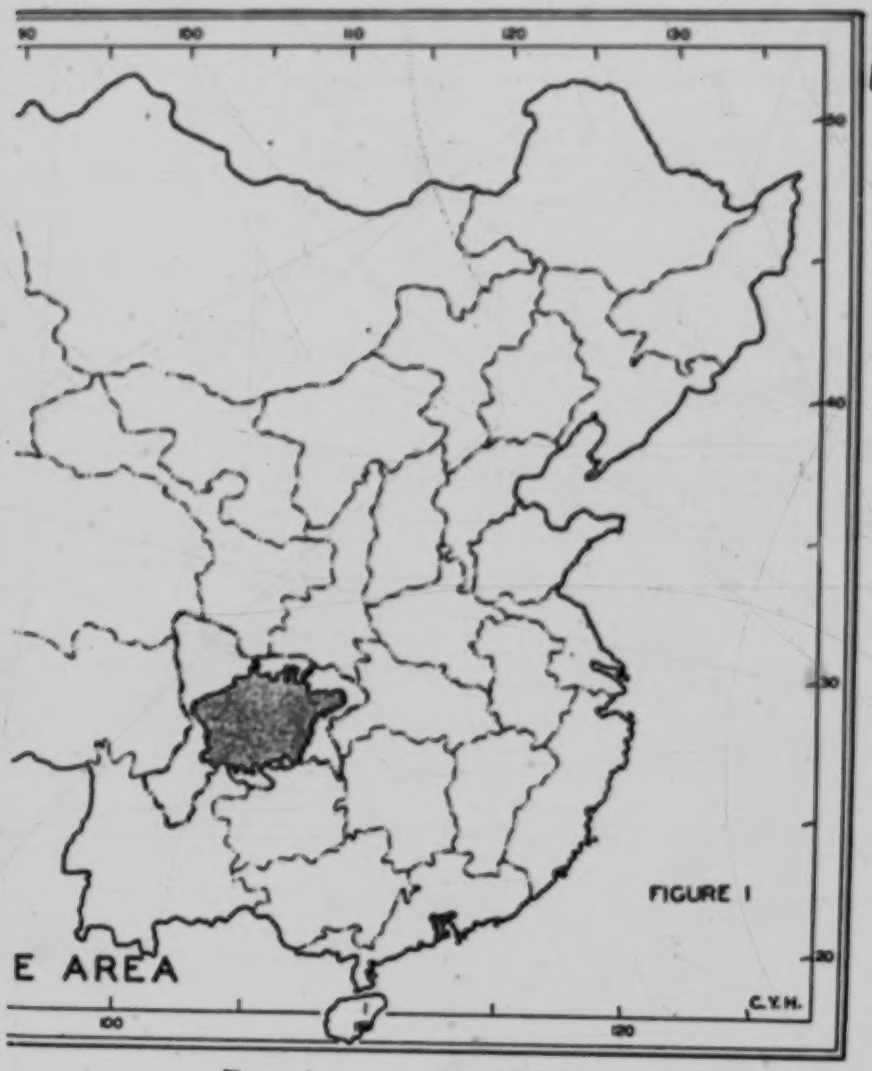

FIGURE 1

[End map 1 (b)]

7: Hu K-5 (1934-) 1946 AF16 Southwest China AF16

the Fou, and the Chialing,[1] which flow from north to south through the province. 101

The term, Szechuan "Basin," as used in the present study, is not identical with the political unit of Szechuan "province." Moreover, it slightly differs from the area known as the "Red Basin" in western geographic literature. The latter is slightly larger and includes a small portion of Kwei-chow province to the south.

As a matter of fact the boundary lines of "Szechuan Basin" as defined in the present study are topographic in character. After careful consideration of both physical and cultural patterns the 700-meter contour line (as the upper limit) was chosen as the line of demarcation.[2] In the actual drawing of the boundary line, however, some minor alterations have been made. For instance, where the selected contour crosses some of the minor narrow river valleys (such as the Chien and others), the boundary line is drawn at the middle-point of such valley rather than at the headwaters of the streams. Primarily this is done to exclude the extremely narrow stripe of land in the headwater areas--lands in most places too steep for agricultural use. The total area of the Basin, thus delimited, is 146,842 square kilometers.[3] This figure is 131

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[1]Most writers give widely divergent names to the four main tributaries of the Yangtse from which the province, as well as the Basin, derives its name. Unfortunately, many of these names are inappropriate. Personally, the writer believes the four most important tributaries of the Yangtse (for reasons which will be explained in the later paragraphs) should be called the Min, the To, the Fou, and the Chialing rivers (cf. A. Hosie, Szechuan, Its Products, etc., p. 17; G. B. Cressey, China's Geographical Foundations, p. 312; L. D. Stamp, Asia [1935 ed.], p. 523; C. Y. Chang, Geography of China, II, 79; and W. D. Geil, Eighteen Capitals of China, p. 295.

[2]Arbitrary as this criterion may appear to be at first thought, it has, however, at least three distinctive merits. First, within the boundary of this chosen contour line, as we shall see later, there is a maximum coincidence between the physical and cultural patterns. Second, within this boundary there lies the most habitable and the most prosperous areas of the whole province; this is geographically significant and is particularly important from the standpoint of the study of agricultural land use. Third, this contour line, unlike many other boundaries commonly drawn to delimit the Basin, has the virtue of being a quantitative line. It furnishes a more concrete, if not a more accurate, basis for drawing the boundaries. So far as the writer is aware, no one has ever used a completely quantitative line to demarcate the boundaries of the Basin.

[3]Average of four planimeter readings.

T. Hu K-5 (1934-) 1946 AF16 Southwest China AF16

●131 much smaller than the total assigned to the Basin by other investigators who use different criteria for its delimitation.[1]

The Basin, thus delimited (Fig. 2),[1] in its rough outline, is much like a trapezoid. The four angles of the trapezoid are marked approximately by the four well-known districts, namely, Kuang-yuan in the north, Ya-an[2] in the west, Sui-yung in the south, and Feng-chieh in the east (Fig. 2). The use of these four districts as the principal corner-posts of the Basin is not only topographically sound (i.e., they all lie within the limit of the same 700-meter contour line) but geographically accurate. For instance, northern Kuang-yuan marks approximately the northern limit of bamboo growths in the Basin.[3] Structurally, Feng-chieh, being at the head of the famous Yangtse gorges, marks approximately the eastern limit of the cretaceous formations in this part of China. Ya-an, strictly speaking, lies at a transitional zone between Chinese and Tibetan cultures; whereas Sui-yung is situated at a crossroad between the fertile Basin to the north and the desolate mountain areas of Kweichou to the south (Fig. 2).

161 The total population of Szechuan is estimated as between fifty million[4] and seventy million[5] persons. Since there is no official census, most students are rightly skeptical about the accuracy of these estimates. In 1937 the Bureau of Civilian Affairs of the Szechuan Provincial Government first undertook a fairly thorough survey of the total population of the province. According to this report (Population by Hsien, Appendix I, Table 1), the total population of the province is 48,436,624 persons.[6]

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[1]Cf. Cressey, Op. cit., p. 312; J. L. Buck, Land Utilization in China (1937), p. 79; Nai Tsiang Jen, Journal of China's Geographical Society, III, No. 4 (December, 1936), 727.

[2]This district, together with the other thirteen districts of southwest Szechuan, is now, by order of the National Government, incorporated into the province of Sikang (Report of Szechuan Provincial Government [1940], p. 3).

[3]See Figure 8.

[4]Report of the Imperial Ministry of Interior (1898).

[5]Later in 1916, since the Republic, the report of the Ministry of Interior and the estimates of the Post Office both affirmed this number of seventy million persons (Report of the Viceroy of Szechuan [1910]).

[6]Bureau of Civilian Affairs, Szechuan Provincial Government, Population Statistics (1937).

[1][See end map 2 -- Analyst]

6: Tafel--334 T-3 (1905-1908) 1914 AJ1 Tibet AJ1
S.W.China AF16

in Ta tsien lu an entire month because of the miscarried remittance of my German-Asiatic bank. This time quickly passed with visits among the gracious and ever-hospitable missionaries, with hunting excursions into the magnificent wooded mountains to track down the cerus and the wonderful budorcas, and finally with an infection which I had contracted. I was always sick when I came down from the pure air of Tibet into the first Chinese city. /Fig. 7 appears on p. 211 in original text./

CHAPTER XV

/212/ Through the Land of the Gold River

The readers of this diary, wearied by the long journey, will now want to lay the book aside. But outside in the clear, free air of Ta tsien lu no weariness was to be felt. I was by no means sated with the wild nomadic life. Nor did I feel any desire to travel home by way of one of the comfortable or at least relatively comfortable and safe Chinese military roads. Spring had just begun again. The winter ice in the Tibetan rivers and brooks had disappeared. Buds were bursting. High up meadows and pastures were resplendent with succulent green and thousands of bright-colored flowers bordered the gushing, crystal-clear springs. In such a situation others may think of home! But at this time Tibet is at its most magnificent. Besides that, my East Tibetan impressions could not be rounded off without including the entire ethnographic border toward the provinces of Szechwan and Kansu. Moreover, up in Lanchow fu my collections were waiting, my photographic plates and notebooks of my Hoang Ho and Tschang tang journey, all of which had to be brought to the coast.

On all our maps the province of Szechwan is - as I have mentioned - shown to extend far to the west, and large parts of East Tibet therefore encroach on Chinese or Szechwan land. In this way places which the Chinese trader and artisan reaches only at the risk of his life appear to be just as much a part of Szechwan as the fertile and densely populated rice plain of Tscheng fu. Actually, however, the extension on the map of the western border of this province represents only the sphere of influence of the government of Tscheng tu fu, of the official who is at the same time the political connecting

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link between Peking and Lhasa (1). The question as to where today

1. As everyone knows, the main purpose of Tobden Dalai Lama's visit in Peking in 1908 was to effect for himself and his government direct reports to the throne and direct subordination to Peking, thereby circumventing the Chinese resident minister of Lhasa and the governor of Tscheng tu fu. But the Manchurian government could never make up its mind to do this and regarded all the land west of Szechwan as domains of this province.

the actual, the ethnographic and national boundary lies between Tibetans and Chinese is not touched and has until now remained an open question in our literature.

T 121

According to the Bretschneider and Stieler map as well as the map of the Russian General Staff, which have gathered together the best of what has hitherto been known, it looked as though all the country north of Ta tsien lu had been pretty thoroughly explored, and yet only von Rosthorn and Armand David had made short notes about it. Chinese river and road maps had /213/ formed the bases for these maps and on closer examination the mountains between the large rivers were put in at the discretion of the cartographers. A few questions to natives who were acquainted with the locality sufficed to establish the fact that with respect to names of places and tribes there is great uncertainty, not to say confusion on all maps, and that a journey thither would soon take me into terra incognita. My wish to end up by visiting these regions grew more and more lively. Only after my expedition did a few English missionaries and especially the unfortunate Lieutenant Brooke (1) roam through these regions and afterward

1. see pp. 129 and 130.

report on them. (2) In my time the missions in Ta tsien lu knew

2. Fergusson, Adventure, Sport and Travel on the Tibetan Steppes. London 1911.

about the country north of the city only that it was called "Kin tschuan," "Valleys of the Gold Rivers" and that it was extremely difficult to travel through it because of its deep ravines, and that a particular language is spoken there which is neither Chinese nor